JAMES L. BUTRICA

The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius

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The elegist Sextus Propertius (ca 50-ca 16 BC) is generally reckoned among the most difficult of Latin authors. At the root of this difficulty lie a deeply corrupt text and uncertainty over the manuscript transmission; moreover, the manuscripts used in the standard editions of today have been selected without a comprehensive examination of the surviving copies. This study, the fullest survey of the manuscripts so far, considers the affiliation of more than 140 complete or partial witnesses and offers a thorough reassessment of the tradition. The principal novelty is the argument that six Renaissance copies represent an independent third witness to the archetype, revealing passages where corruptions, glosses, or medieval corrections are now accepted as the words of Propertius and suggesting that the archetype was far more corrupt than now commonly supposed. The study is in two parts. In Part One, after a survey of earlier scholarship and a re-examination of Propertius' *fortuna* in the Middle Ages, the author considers the affiliation and history of the known manuscripts and editions to 1502, then offers a text and revised apparatus of four elegies; in Part Two he presents detailed descriptions of 143 manuscripts, most of them from personal inspection.

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The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius

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D.M.
A.L.

necnon matri carissimae

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PREFACE

The conclusions offered here are based chiefly upon collation of about half the text of Propertius (1.1-2, 11-13, 17, 20-22; 2.1-3, 8-13, 19-20, 24-34; 3.1-3, 5, 11, 13, 22; 4.1-2, 6-9, 11); these elegies were chosen after first collating the entire text. The following manuscripts have been inspected only on microfilm: Cologny-Genève Bibl Bodmeriana Cod Bod 141; Dresden Dc 133; Dublin K.2.37; Genoa E.III.29 and F.VI.15; Leningrad Cl.lat.Q.12 and Q.V.3; Modena Camp app 1418; Mons 218/109; Rome Bibl Corsiniana Rossi 43.D.36; Turin G.VI.41; and Wrocław AKC 1948 KN 197. Readings of the Tomacellianus have been taken from a reproduction kindly supplied by its owner; of San Daniele 56 from the dissertation of K.J. Fischer (the earthquake of June 1976 rendered a proposed visit in July inadvisable); of former Abbey 3242, now in private hands unknown, from photographic reproductions formerly belonging to James Wardrop now in the Bodleian and from additional reproductions provided by A.C. de la Mare; of the copy formerly in the possession of the duke of Wellington from personal inspection generously permitted by its former owner. It has been impossible, despite several inquiries, to obtain information about or any reproduction of the Palermo copy. All others were examined *in situ*.

The catalogue of manuscripts is based upon the fundamental list of A.C. Ferguson, supplemented from published catalogues; several copies were brought to my attention by A.C. de la Mare and M.D. Reeve. Two late copies (Chartres 680 and Venice 4515) are included at the end for completeness but have been ignored elsewhere. The descriptions are written as economically as possible; 'Tibullus' indicates the entire *Corpus Tibullianum*, 'Vita and epitaph' the Suetonian biography and epitaph of Domitius Marsus that frequently accompany the text; bibliographies exclude inconsequential studies. Cross-referencing

is minimal; bibliography and substantiation for most facts asserted about manuscripts in Part One will be found in the descriptions of Part Two, which the reader will have to consult without the prodding of notes. The symbols used to report manuscript readings are largely self-explanatory. Note, however, that A^t indicates a reading of the text when a variant in the scribe's hand is present (that variant being reported as A^{vl}), A^{pc} a reading introduced by the scribe through erasure, deletion, or other methods of correction. Readings introduced by other hands are designated as A2, A3, etc, the original text as A1. Renaissance orthography was scarcely less fluid than medieval: the reader has been spared wherever possible a condescending *sic*.

There is no need to apologize for writing of archetypes and common errors and even drawing a stemma, despite the opprobrium which has fallen upon these concepts in past decades. Obviously all our copies of Propertius do derive from a single very corrupt manuscript; there is no contamination until 1427; common errors and common sense are useful guides at least through the next few decades; and the choice of errors involves very few controversial examples. Apologies are offered for the deficiencies of the attempt to trace the affiliations of the later manuscripts. The earlier tradition has been examined in some detail; little has been done with the later apart from noticing a few possible *descripti* and grouping copies according to identifiable sources in order to establish that none has independent value for reconstructing the archetype. These later copies often draw sequentially or simultaneously upon two or more sources; it is hoped that any oversimplification here has not seriously impaired the general validity of the conclusions. To the dilemma of devising sigla to designate many manuscripts a compromise solution has been attempted: only a few copies important enough to be cited often are given special designations; the others, when cited for stemmatic discussions, receive shortened versions of their shelfmarks which ought to make them readily identifiable. In the lists of shared errors the more important manuscripts are discussed in proportionately greater detail than the less important ones. Sometimes a reference is made to an earlier list of errors and agreement with them indicated by line number only (especially in chapters 4 through 6); parentheses indicate that the manuscript under discussion does not agree exactly with the earlier error but deviates in some specified manner. Other signs and devices should explain themselves.

This study began as a doctoral dissertation offered to the Department of Classics in the University of Toronto in 1978. It has been revised extensively several times in the light of important manuscript evidence (particularly Genoa E.III.29

and the Tomacellianus) which became available only after the dissertation was completed. It is a pleasure to record the extensive debt owed to those who have guided and contributed to this work. To Professor R.J. Tarrant, who suggested the topic and supervised the writing in an earlier stage, it owes its existence and whatever degree of intelligibility it has achieved. Dr A.C. de la Mare of the Bodleian Library has identified scribes and dated manuscripts, thus providing a valuable historical frame; Mr M.D. Reeve of Exeter College, Oxford, has been a generous source of information, correction, encouragement, and hospitality. The explicit acknowledgments in the text only suggest how much these persons have contributed; they are not, of course, responsible for whatever errors may be detected. Thanks are also due to Dr V. Brown and Professor J. Grant, to Professor D.F.S. Thomson, and to the two anonymous Press readers, who laboured through a long and unattractive typescript, far more to my profit than to their own; to Dr Christopher de Hamel of Sotheby's, London, and Professor R. Rouse; to the staff of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, the staff and directors of all the libraries known through visits or correspondence for their unfailingly generous and courteous disposition; to Mrs E. Nasser and Mr G. Lovick for typing the better parts of all drafts, and not least to the members of the Department of Classics at the University of Victoria for a haven where the work of revision was carried out. One factor which has contributed to the quality of the result is the generous financial support of the Canada Council for travel and research in 1976-8. This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and a grant from the Publications Fund of the University of Toronto Press.

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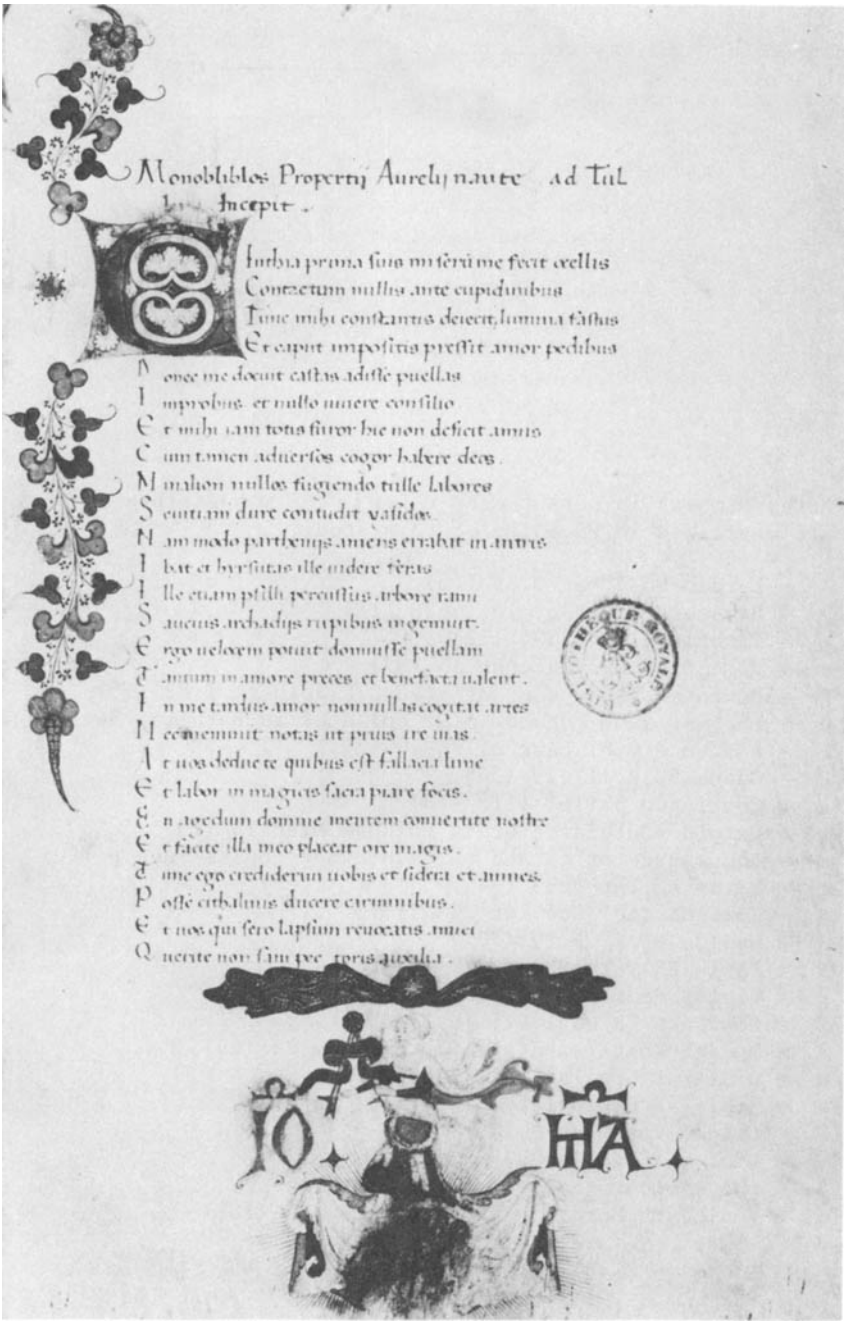
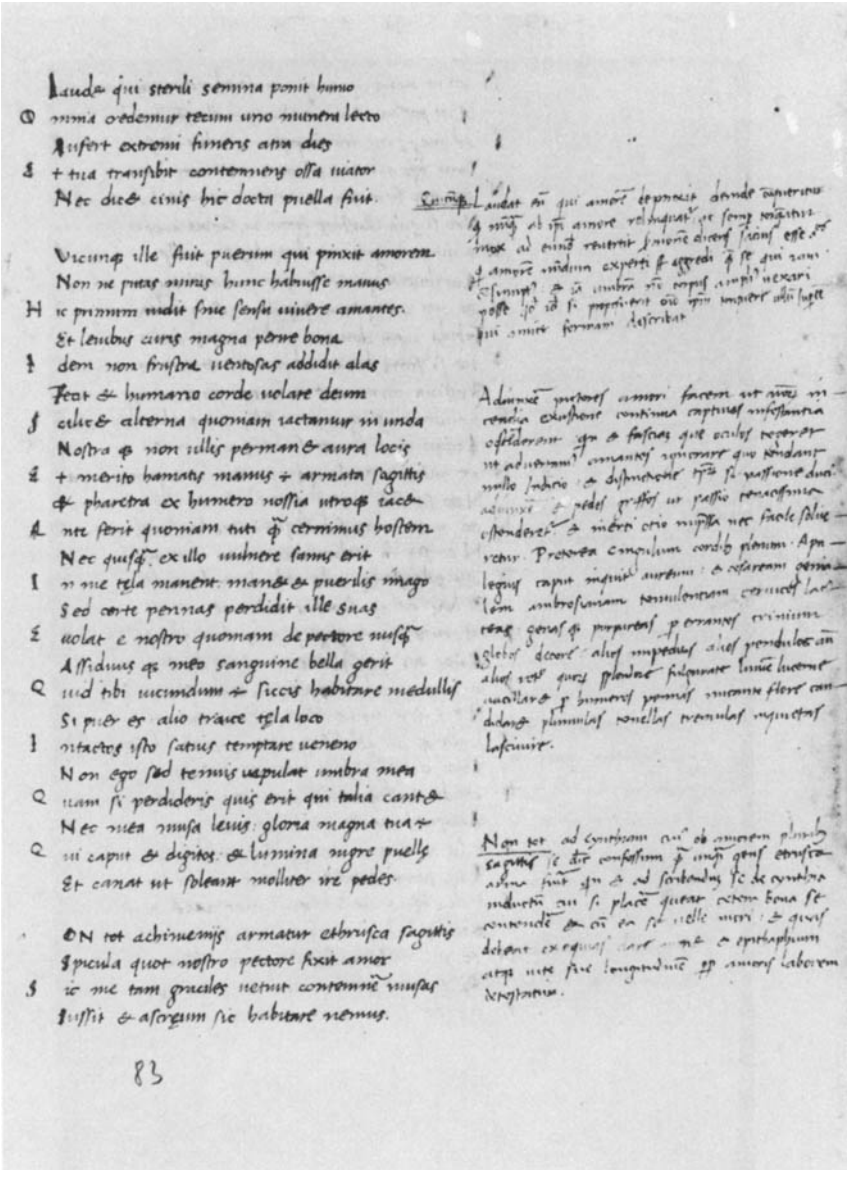
FREQUENTLY USED SIGLA

Note: Numbers in parentheses refer to the manuscripts as they are described in Part Two of this study.

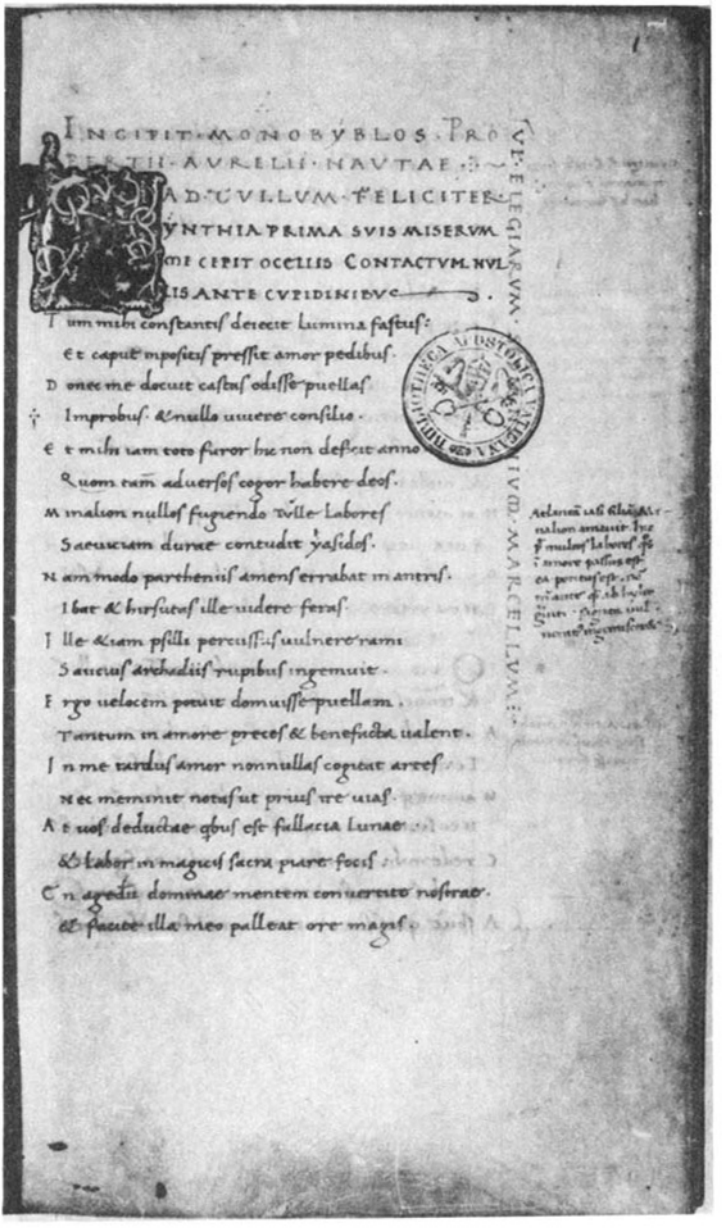
A = Leiden Voss lat O.38 (43)
b = Brussels Bibl Royale 14638 (11)
C = Cambridge Add 3394 (12)
c = Rome Bibl Casanatense 15 (97)
D = Deventer Athenaeum- of Stadsbibliotheek I 82 (15)
e = the *antiquum manuscriptum* collated in Barb lat 34
F = Florence Bibl Laur pl.36,49 (24)
G = Genoa BU E.III.29 (36)
g = Göttingen philol 111^{b} (38)
L = Oxford Bodleian Library Holkham Misc 36 (79)
M = the source of gZ and certain other copies (see p 120)
m = Paris BN lat 8233 (84)
N = Wolfenbüttel Gud lat 224 (137)
n = Naples BN IV.F.19 (70)
P = Paris BN lat 7989 (82)
r = Bibl Bodmeriana Cod Bod 141 (14)
S = Florence BN Magl VII 1053 (30)
s = Munich Universitätsbibliothek Cim 22 (69)
u = Bibl Vat Urb lat 641 (120)
V = Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1514 (115)
Vo = Leiden Voss lat Q.117 (46)
v = Bibl Vat Vat lat 3273 (125)
X = the common ancestor of vmrusc
Z = Venice BN Marciana Fondo antico 443 (131)


Monoblibles Properti Aureli naute ad Tul
incepit .
Barbia prima fuis mi ferui me fecit ocellis
Contectum nullis ante cupidinibus
Tunc mihi constantis dolor it in lumina fletus
Et caput impositis pressit amor pedibus
Nec me dolet captas adisse puellas
Improbus et nullo uincere consilio
Et mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno
Cum tamen aduersos cogor habere deos .
Nam hon nullos fingendo tulle labores
Contam dure contudit ualidos
Nam modo parthenie amens erubit in armis
Aut et hyrcanis ille uidere feris
Ille etiam telis peruolat arbore tam
Sucus ut hadis rupibus ingemuit .
Ergo uelocem potuit dominare puellam
Tunc in amore preces et beneficia ualent .
In me tantus amor nonnulla coegit artes
Ut meminim notas ut prius ire uias .
Et nos deducte quibus est fallacia lune
Et labor in magicas sacra parare foras .
Nec dedum domine mentem conuertite nostre
Et facite illa meo placeat ore magis .
Tunc ego credidenim nobis et fidera et ammes
Posse catalanis ducere carminibus .
Et nos qui sero lapsum reuocatis in ortu
Quicunte non sim pre ceteris ingenio .

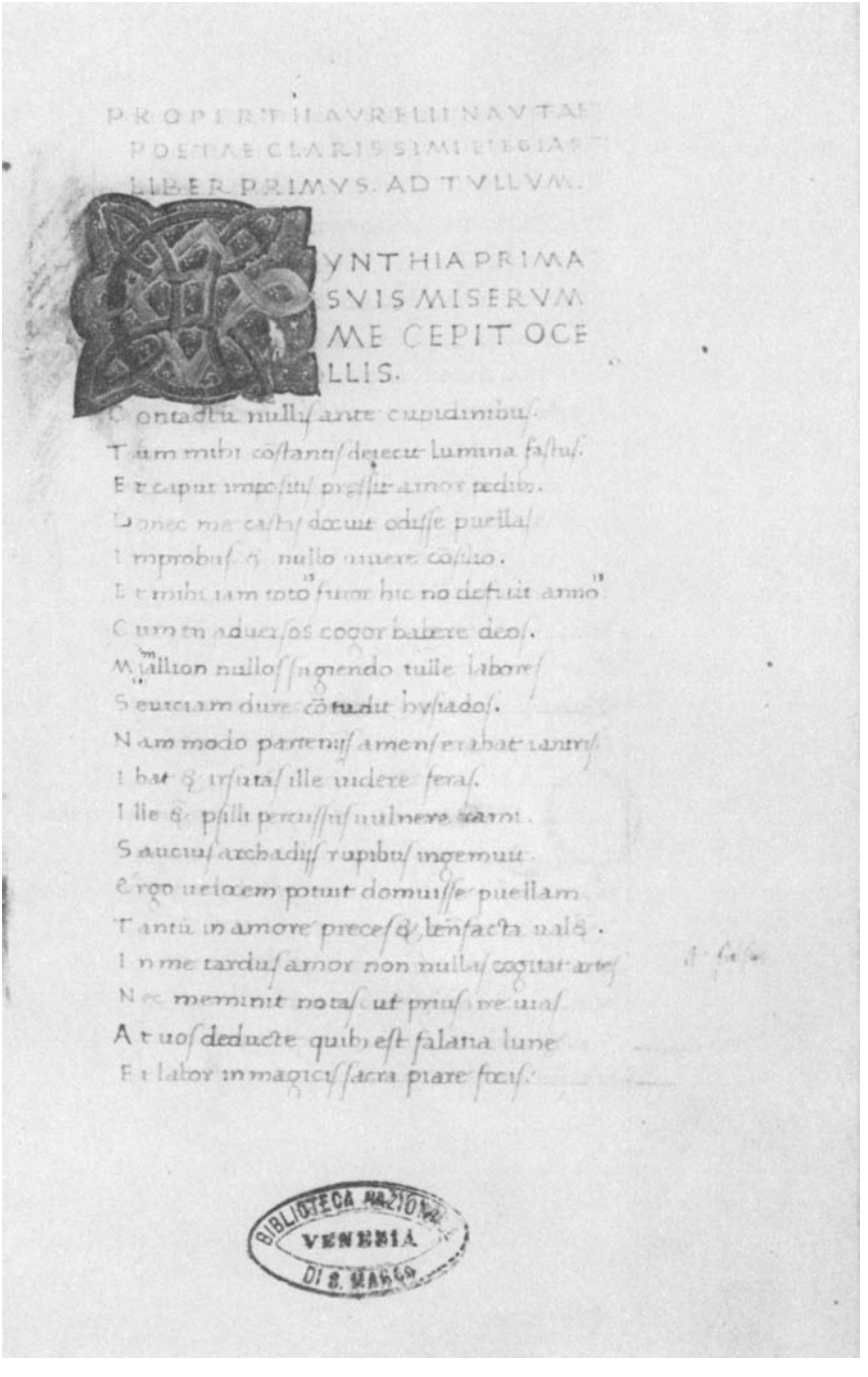
11 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er 14638, f 1r (MS b)



70 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV.F.19, f 83r (MS n)



125 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana
Vat lat 3273, f 1r (MS v)


PROPERTII AVRELII NAVTAE
POETAE CLARISSIMI ELEGIAR
LIBER PRIMVS. AD TVLLVM.
YNTHIA PRIMA
SVIS MISERVM
ME CEPIT OCE
LLIS.
Contacta nulli ante cupidinibus
Tum mihi constanti deiecit lumina fastu
Et caput impositis pressit amor pedibus
Donec me casta docuit odisse puella
Improbus & nullo uincere consilio
Et mihi iam toto furor hic non defuit anno
Cum tu aduersos cogor habere deos
Million nullos fingendo tulit labores
Seuitiam dure contudit hyados
Nam modo parenti flamen erabat iantri
Ibat & irsuta ille uidere fera
Ille & pulli percussu uulnere saeui
Sauciu archadiis rupibus ingemuit
Ergo uel hoc potuit domuisse puellam
Tanta in amore prece & benefacta ualent
In me tardius amor non nulla cogitat arte
Nec meminit nota ut prius ire uia
At uos deducte quibus est fallacia lune
Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE
VENEZIA
DI S. MARCO

131 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana 1912 (Fondo antico 443), f 1r (MS Z)

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PART ONE

The Tradition

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INTRODUCTION

The History and Present State of the Question

'Scientific' recension of ancient texts begins in the nineteenth century with a method that we *recentiores*, having lost sight of the contributions of his predecessors and contemporaries, have enshrined under the name of Lachmann; he it was, at any rate, who gathered the elements into a whole and proved the practicability of this kind of recension.[1] The earliest editions of Propertius were printed from manuscripts or from other editions; the vulgate text thus established prevailed, with few exceptions, from the de Spira edition of 1472 until the middle of the nineteenth century (for this see chapter 9). Scaliger complained in 1577 about the scarcity of old Propertius manuscripts,[2] a situation that has not improved greatly in the following four centuries.[3] His solution, exclusive reliance upon a single late copy (now Egerton 3027 in the British Library,[4] 'perhaps the worst manuscript of Propertius in the world,' according to Housman, who did not know Pal lat 910), was no solution. In the eighteenth century such scholars as Broekhuyzen and Burman took another approach, the uncritical accumulation of readings from manuscripts, incunabula, and collations, with no attempt to evaluate the quality or authority of each witness.

Neither of Lachmann's editions of Propertius has earned - or deserves - the status of his Lucretius: 'Of Lachmann's Latin texts, Propertius ... and Lucretius ..., the Lucretius is regarded as exemplary.'[5] The earlier of the two editions of Propertius (Leipzig 1816), published when Lachmann was 23, is by far the more important, being the first edition to make significant use of the codex Neapolitanus (Wolfenbüttel Gudianus lat 224, of about 1200, known to editors as N); Burman knew some readings from the collations of Heinsius but had no notion of its importance. Nor did Lachmann fully appreciate it. The declared aim of his edition was to distinguish

'qui codices veterem ac sinceram scripturam tenerent, qui a doctis Italis interpolati essent' (vii). Had he seen at first hand the codex Groninganus (Groningen Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek 159), produced in Roman scholarly circles about 1470, he might have recognized its nature and dismissed it as interpolated; he did not, and made it the basis of his text. He did see the Neapolitanus in Göttingen and dated it correctly, but thought that the Groninganus surpassed it 'bonitate ... fortasse non item vetustate' (ix). Lachmann's first Propertius is no monument to 'Lachmann's method' but an 'optimist' text based essentially upon the Groninganus alone: 'nemo mihi, ut opinor, vitio vertet, quod, uno tantum, sed eo quidem perbono codice ... usus, alios ... nihil quaesivi' (vii). The second edition (Berlin 1829), with brief apparatus but no commentary, is, in Lachmann's words, the 'optimae Frid. Iacobi recensioni aliquot locis a me refictae.' Five witnesses only are cited in the apparatus. To the Groninganus and Neapolitanus are added the notes of Franciscus Puccius, known to Lachmann from late copies,[6] and the Reggio (Emilia) edition of 1481, a copy of which Puccius used for his annotations; under *R* he cited the readings which Puccius did not alter, under *r* those which he did. This gave the authority of Lachmann's name to a witness of no importance; only with Baehrens (1880) was the Reggio edition ousted from the apparatus. If the introduction of N was Lachmann's principal achievement as editor of Propertius, he is also significant as the first scholar to hold that Propertius neglected the elegance that his contemporaries pursued; his purging the text of 'obtrusas Propertio elegantias' - as he called conjectures which seemed to correct style (on 1.9.9) - reflects the same attitudes so strikingly expressed in the introduction to Postgate's *Select Elegies* and the modern, highly conservative, vulgate text.

The years between Lachmann and Baehrens produced nothing substantial toward understanding the tradition. Hertzberg, whose commentary (1843) continued Lachmann's conservative trend and proved still more influential, introduced several new manuscripts, of which only Hamburg Universitätsbibliothek Scrin 139.4 is important. T. Struve published a collation of Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 338;[7] Schöll reported two leaves of a manuscript discovered pasted inside a binding;[8] Ellis reported a florilegium in Paris that once contained extracts from Propertius.[9] The origin of N was discussed by Haupt[10] and Müller.[11] The latter, while rightly confessing his lack of expertise in such matters, remarked that the parchment seemed of the fifteenth century and that the manuscript was perhaps of Italian, not northern, origin; the former observation became an article of faith for Baehrens and those who sought to denigrate N.

Baehrens' Teubner text of 1880 is vitiated by excessive reliance upon the admittedly valuable manuscripts that it introduced and is important almost more in spite of Baehrens than because of him. He introduced two copies that have retained their place in the apparatus, the Leiden fragment Voss lat O.38 (A) and Florence Bibl Laur pl.36,49 (F), which we now know represent a tradition nearly as old as N. He did not, however, establish correctly the relationship between them, nor did he attempt to distinguish the separate hands that corrected F; his lumping all three together as f needlessly confused subsequent discussions. It was an unfortunate accident that this branch was known first through AF; since for most of the text its sole representative was F, which abounds both in trivial errors and in interpolations, scholars were given a misleading impression of the family and stemmatic discussions were accordingly imperilled. Baehrens introduced two other manuscripts which have only just held a position in modern editions, Deventer Athenaeum- of Stadsbibliotheek I 82 (D) and Bibl Vat Ottob Lat 1514 (V). An attempt will be made in chapter 5 to demonstrate that these copies, as has long been suspected, have no place in the apparatus and descend from other copies that still survive. Baehrens misdated all the manuscripts that he used. He put A about 1360 (contemporary palaeographers revised this to ca 1300; in fact it was written about 1240), F at the beginning of the fifteenth century (from the correspondence of Salutati it can be dated fairly precisely to between 1379 and 1381), D about 1410-20 (written about 1460), and V at the end of the fourteenth century (again written about 1460). These are mild errors compared to his insistence that N is an interpolated humanistic manuscript not earlier than 1430. Müller's remark on the age of the parchment (which is in fact of a thickness and coarseness never found in fifteenth-century Italian copies) may lie behind the assertion, which Baehrens maintained despite the impressive textual evidence.

Baehrens' attempt to discredit N provoked many defenders, among them Leo,[12] Ellis,[13] M.R. James,[14] Palmer,[15] and Rossberg.[16] Other scholars continued the search for new and important codices; Schenkl published a collation of Rome Bibl Corsiniana 43.E.8,[17] and Peper introduced the most successful of the new copies, the codex Lusaticus (now Wrocław Biblioteka Uniwersytecka AKC 1948 KN 197).[18] Hosius[19] studied thirty-nine of the more than seventy-five Propertius manuscripts in Italy. The only concrete result was the introduction of Bibl Vat Urb lat 641 (υ), which Hosius thought derived from N and which was to supply its probable readings in 4.11.17-76, where one leaf has been lost. He also touched upon some aspects of the humanistic tradition, including another copy of Puccius'

notes and a lost collation by Poliziano of the manuscript collated by Puccius.

The study of the Propertian tradition flourished in the universities of Germany. Typical of the dissertations produced was Richard Solbisky's *De codicibus Propertianis* (Jena 1882). Beginning from Baehrens' manuscripts, Solbisky concluded that the family AF is formed by contamination from N on the one hand and the family DV on the other and that an edition should be based upon NDV. Such mistaken conclusions might have been less common if Baehrens had dated DV correctly.

Frédéric Plessis devoted a portion of his book on Propertius to surveys of the manuscripts and earlier editions.[20] For the first time an approximately correct date for V appeared in print (ca 1450, on the authority of the Vatican cataloguer Stevenson, who mistakenly identified it as Tuscan rather than Paduan). His account of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (repeated by his pupil Paganelli in the Budé edition) is superficial and uninformative. He tried to disparage Baehrens' manuscripts by, for instance, dating F nearer 1450 than 1400, even though he mentions that it contains the ex-libris of Salutati, who died in 1406. His suggestion that an edition ought to be based upon N alone shows how far reverence for N and reaction against Baehrens could go.

In 1893-4 A.E. Housman in a series of three articles[21] proposed a new solution to the problems of the transmission, based upon the manuscripts introduced by Baehrens. Perhaps he was attracted to Baehrens' theories by personal sympathy (he describes Baehrens in terms that could as well be applied to himself),[22] or perhaps by the opportunity to flay optimist partisanship in textual criticism, a favourite theme. At any rate, Housman's conclusions are largely without value, for he adopted with little modification Baehrens' manuscripts and incorrect dates and thus exerted his enormous talent to prove that N is a heavily interpolated composite manuscript. The three articles parallel the Manilius preface (1903) closely enough in scheme - brief introductory comments on the manuscripts, survey of previous scholarship, stemmatic arguments - that one may surmise that they are largely salvaged from the preface to the Propertius that he offered unsuccessfully to Macmillan in 1886. Housman posited three families, the two established by Baehrens (AF and DV) and a third, fv (the corrections, regardless of origin, in F and V respectively). Baehrens derived N from AFDV and so had to explain a great many good readings as conjectures; Housman argued that N was conflated from lost members of his three families, thus accounting for the good readings of N as derived from the source of fv and fortifying his stemma against a demonstration that

N predates the other extant witnesses or that DV are much later than Baehrens claimed. It would be wrong to view Housman's work in a wholly negative light. Though his conclusions are unacceptable, his arguments often are not. Though some are vitiated by incorrect reconstructions of the archetype resulting from his mistaken view of the tradition, some by insubstantial arguments from orthography, some by Baehrens' inaccurate collations, some by circular argumentation based upon uncertain conjectures, nevertheless his discussions of individual passages are often illuminating, and there is lasting value in his reminder that, as most modern editors of Propertius continue to forget, a 'best' manuscript is no substitute for textual criticism. Housman's lack of success with the Propertian tradition may be traced to two circumstances, his use of Baehrens' inaccurate collations, incorrect dates, and misunderstanding of f and v[23] and his failure to consider the tradition within an historical context rather than as a purely abstract construction. A less destructive aspect of Baehrens' influence is Housman's adoption of the unjustly neglected argument that N has suffered metrical interpolation; modern scholars aware of this argument know it from Housman rather than from his source.[24]

J.P. Postgate's paper of 1894 introduced L (Holkham Hall 333, now Oxford Bodleian Library MS Holkham Misc 36),[25] an important witness to the tradition of A and F; it ought to have had a more beneficial effect than it did, but scholars of the period were more ready to see interpolation and correction in L than extensive corruption in F. In the same article Postgate discussed briefly a number of British and continental manuscripts, adding to the apparatus Paris BN lat 8233 (μ), a copy of the same exemplar as Urb lat 641; he suggested (rightly, as will be argued in chapter 3) that it does not derive from N; and he divined the nature of the delta manuscripts.[26] In addition, he was the first to make the important observation that f represents not one but several hands and the first to try to analyse the corrections of v. By exposing its origin he laid to rest the phantom of the fifteenth-century parchment of N, which for Housman was a decisive factor in establishing a late date.

Postgate also reviewed and refuted in passing a number of Housman's assertions about the major copies; with some justice he accused Housman of partiality toward F and D, a charge that Housman could not abide. Postgate's civil refutation drew an uncivil reply; Housman felt offended that, when he and Baehrens had at last 'got this rather uninteresting garden of the Muses into decent order,' along had come Postgate peevishly letting in the boars.[27] An inappropriate tone of condescension appears in such remarks as, 'If it were not for the humour of the

situation I might well resent the tone of placid assurance in which I, who think before I write and blot before I print, am continually admonished by the author of this pamphlet' (28) and 'Neither the conception nor the execution ... entitles it to so long a criticism' (29). Postgate was perhaps the more hurt because he had recently corresponded with Housman on the Propertius tradition, supplying him for instance with a partial collation of Naples BN IV.F.20. He replied in kind and proved equal to the situation.[28] Of the second passage cited above he declared, 'Of the contumelious reference here ... I intend to make Mr. Housman ashamed' (180, note 2); his skill at Housman's game shows in another comment on the same passage, 'The humour is this, that Mr. Housman, who has rated half the scholars of Europe, should himself be so sore at reproof and should expect his indignation to move the readers of the *Classical Review*' (180); he concluded with a stinging citation of Sophocles, *Antigone* 707-9. Perhaps Postgate did succeed in making Housman 'ashamed'; he never again published anything of significance on Propertius and had little to say on the tradition.[29] This exchange could well be responsible for the loss of Housman's youthful edition of Propertius.[30]

In subsequent years aspects of the humanistic tradition were discussed by Sabbadini in articles on Ravenna Bibl Classense 277, on some of the manuscripts already discussed by Postgate,[31] and on the Ambrosian codices.[32] Dziatzko produced a useful study of the letters in the margins of N.[33] Köhler published a complete collation of the codex Lusaticus.[34] Birt's theory that Propertius wrote a *monobyblos* (the present Book 1) and a *tetrabyblos* (made up of the remains of an original Book 1, now 2.1-9, an original Book 2, now 2.10-34, and Books 3 and 4)[35] is enjoying an undeserved revival as more scholars accept in principle that Propertius wrote not four but five books of elegies; Ullman offered additional observations to support it.[36] Birt also wrote a piece on the correcting hands of N[37] and the introduction to the photographic facsimile.[38]

Among the curiosities of Propertian scholarship is Simar's article on the manuscripts of the Vatican Library,[39] an extraordinary collection of misinformation and untruth. For instance, Simar claimed that Vat lat 3273 and Urb lat 641 are the work of the same scribe (they are related textually but were written about forty years apart by two different and identifiable men); that Vat lat 1612, which was signed, in a colophon now partially erased, by Johannes of Spello, was in fact copied by Pontano, who is supposed to have signed his father's name; that Vat lat 3102 is a Propertius which Simar could not see because it was being restored (it is a collection of Michelangelo autographs that has been on permanent

exhibition since the 1880s). He ridiculed the scribe of Pal lat 910 for not knowing the title of Ovid's *Amores*; that scribe in fact refers to it as it was generally known in the Middle Ages, *Liber cuius nomen non habetur nisi de sine titulo*, and so it is not the scribe who is ignorant here. In his claim that most of the Vatican copies derive from Vat lat 3273, Simar approached the truth; but, having shown that all of these manuscripts derive from extant copies, he betrayed his critical acumen by observing, 'Les futurs éditeurs de Properce devront tenir compte de ces manuscrits nouveaux.'

O.L. Richmond is remembered now solely for the transpositions and lacunae of his eccentric edition, but what he accomplished while preparing that edition should not be overlooked.[40] His most lasting contribution was the introduction of Paris BN lat 7989 (P), another representative of the tradition already known in AFL. He introduced a second manuscript that still appears in the apparatus, Leiden Voss lat Q.117 (Vo), which he thought (impossibly) was the source of DV. Like Hosius and Postgate, Richmond investigated large numbers of manuscripts; he, however, was injudicious about using them. He drew attention to two manuscripts of lesser importance, Brussels Bibl Royale 14638 (a twin of the Hamburg copy used by Hertzberg) and Parma Bibl Palatina 140 (a twin of the Lusaticus). He also drew up the most comprehensive stemma so far attempted, with two lines of descent from the archetype. The first encompasses all the manuscripts usually adduced. It is supposed to begin with a copy of French origin which produces two descendants. From the first derive four manuscripts: the common exemplar of the Brussels and Hamburg copies; A; the common exemplar of F and L, which he suggested might have been Petrarch's copy; and a manuscript of Poggio, from which P was copied. The second copy of the French exemplar produces two descendants; one is N, the other the source of the common exemplar of Parma 140 and the Lusaticus and of the common exemplar of μ and υ, which he suggested might have been the 'old manuscript' collated by Puccius. He was certainly right to derive FL from Petrarch's copy, and was near the mark concerning μ and υ, and probably about their relationship to N and to Puccius' copy. It is the second branch of the stemma and the Insular codex with which it begins that are responsible for the oblivion that has fallen upon Richmond's work. From five largely Florentine or Ferrarese copies of the mid-fifteenth century (Berlin Diez B Sant 41 and 53; Cambridge Univ Libr Add 3394; Florence Bibl Laur pl.38,37; and Leiden Voss lat O.81) he attempted to reconstruct a severely decayed copy in Insular script which he proposed to identify as the copy described in the anecdote of Alessandri. By a very queer stroke of chance these manuscripts may in fact descend from a manuscript

which Pontano might have had in mind.[41] The only reason for suggesting an Insular codex was the presence in some of *Finit*, rather than *Explicit*, which Kuno Meyer had wrongly claimed was confined to Insular manuscripts.[42] The decayed condition of the exemplar was supposed to be reflected in the dislocated text of these copies (the manuscripts, though loosely related, do not in fact agree in their dislocations); the study of these led to the theory of an archetype with sixteen lines to the page and so to the dislocations of Richmond's edition.

Ullman's article of 1911[43] contains less than one would have expected of a scholar who had so far collated over a hundred manuscripts, but he was obviously saving much for future publication; he mentions here his discovery of Pontano's Propertius, which he did not publish until 1959. Nevertheless the article is important for the tentative proposal to identify A with the manuscript of Richard de Fournival (as has since been confirmed by others) and still more important for the demonstration that F descends from A through a copy that belonged to Petrarch; of all the major work done on the tradition only his contribution (and Ferguson's below) can stand without significant alteration.

The next important work is the doctoral dissertation of Ullman's pupil A.C. Ferguson.[44] She undertook to isolate manuscripts descended from A independently of F, and succeeded to the extent of eliminating some descendants of F, calling further attention to the Brussels and Hamburg manuscripts, and establishing the value of P. The *antiquum manuscriptum* collated in Barb lat 34 is her 'discovery,'[45] She also published a collation in which the difficult task of distinguishing the corrections in F according to hand is carried out with impressive acuity, and her concluding list of one hundred twenty-seven manuscripts provided a valuable foundation for subsequent research.

The spectre of the tattered codex under the wine cask rose twice more as Giulio Bonazzi twice edited Propertius from the text of Bibl Vat Pal lat 910, an execrably bad copy of no significance.[46] Important for the circulation of Propertius in the Middle Ages and of minor importance to the editing of the text were the discoveries by Robathan of the missing portion of Paris BN lat 15155 (now Bibl Vat Reg lat 2120)[47] and by Damon of a second florilegium derived from A.[48]

La Penna, in two articles that have become the standard modern autority,[49] reviewed much of what had been written and offered his own stemma. His discussions of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are only slightly more helpful than those of Plessis. He put very firmly the case for not attributing independent authority to DVVo, but his suggestion that they derive from a recension of Niccoli is

based upon a false understanding of their relationship to P and is contradicted by the evidence of their date and provenance. The stemma is an ingenious construction. There are two branches, the first consisting of N alone, represented as exercising extensive influence upon the others. The second branch consists of A and its descendants, all of which derive through Petrarch's lost copy. The only uncorrected descendant of it is F. From another copy, after correction from N, derive the Hamburg and Brussels manuscripts on the one hand and L on the other; L is shown as contaminated from N. From Petrarch's manuscript again corrected from N derives P, which has in turn taken more corrections directly from N. Finally, from Petrarch's copy again corrected from N, descends the source of DVVo; the second and third of these are once again contaminated from N. It will be argued in chapter 2 that the descendants of Petrarch's manuscript are related somewhat differently and in chapter 3 that N has exerted no influence whatever upon them. La Penna's most recent publication in the field does not alter the conclusions of the earlier articles.[50]

The search for new manuscripts has continued sporadically. On two occasions Tovar[51] has presented two manuscripts from the University Library of Salamanca supposed to have been copied in the thirteenth century; neither is older than the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

The most ambitious project so far attempted has finally come to fruition in the Teubner text of R. Hanslik (Leipzig 1979). Hanslik assigned fifty-five manuscripts each to his students Swoboda and Fischer,[52] presumably reserving the others to himself. Division of the task was unwise; closely allied groups were inevitably split, and by a particularly unhappy accident Swoboda was assigned most of the manuscripts derived from the early editions, but those editions were collated only later by Fischer, who was then obliged to do some of Swoboda's work over again. Hanslik's results are largely disappointing. The brief descriptions of the manuscripts in the preface are sometimes misleading, sometimes inaccurate. The list of 132 items contains in fact 129 manuscripts; 51 and 98 are copies of the two editions of 1472 (no reason is given for including these while omitting the other incunabula), and Salamanca BU 85 is described twice, under the sigla s and 124. Nearly identical sylloges of mostly humanistic poetry in Brescia A.VII.7, Leiden Voss lat O.13, and BL Harley 2574 are described respectively as 'poemata medii aevi,' 'anthologiam humanisticam,' and 'epigrammata et poemata varia.' Marcantonio Morosini is identified as copyist, rather than owner, of Vicenza G.2.8.12 and the note of ownership is cited incorrectly; the old error that Petrus Odus copied Pal lat 1652 is repeated; Ottob lat 1550 is said to have belonged to

Pomponio Leto; the very important and early Vat lat 3273 is dated to the end of the fifteenth century; the description of Vat lat 5177 seems to say that Pontano wrote *argumenta* to the elegies in Göttingen philol 111^{b} ('post titulos proferuntur argumenta singularum elegiarum ut a Pontano in cod. i,' Hanslik's siglum for the Göttingen copy, which is not connected with Pontano; the fact that the titles of the two manuscripts show significant disagreements gives further cause to wonder about the point of Hanslik's remark); he seems to say that Beroaldus corrected Paris BN lat 8235, when the scribe was only copying Beroaldus' edition ('sequitur carmen quoddam Beroaldi, a quo etiam numerosae codicis correcturae factae sunt, praecipue inde a 4,4,29'); the text of the probable *editio princeps* (Hanslik's 98, and misleadingly called 'ed. Ven.' at 4.2.40) is described as taken from Venice Marc 4208. Hanslik prints four stemmata, that of La Penna (of which he says that it 'maxime persuadet'), and three involving the manuscripts investigated by his students. The smaller stemma on xxi (which contains a symbol not identifiable as any Greek or Latin letter or Arabic numeral) directly contradicts La Penna by making P derive from both L and the common source of LP; and it makes Mons 218/109, long recognized as a close descendant of P, a copy of L contaminated from P. The larger stemma on xxi, among other impossibilities, makes Laur Acq e doni 124 and Venice Museo Correr 549 direct copies of F, while Florence BN Magl VII 1053 becomes a direct copy of F contaminated from N; as s, Salamanca BU 85 is shown here as a direct copy of Magl VII 1053, but in the third stemma, as 124, it is a copy of Salamanca BU 245. Manuscripts are reported accurately for the most part; a random check of five manuscripts in poems 1.1-2, 11-13, 17, 20-22, and 2.1-3 produced the following results. Wolfenbüttel Helmst 338 is reported thirty times with only four errors. Padua C.77 is reported correctly once, incorrectly twice; the Lusaticus twice, both times correctly; BL Harley 5246 three times correctly, once incorrectly. Venice BN Marc 4208 is reported correctly fourteen times, incorrectly seventeen times; three of the latter group involve supposed readings of a non-existent second hand. Occasionally errors are made on a large scale, as when fourteen manuscripts are falsely said to join 3.2.1-2 to the end of 3.1. Manuscripts identified in the stemmata as *descripti* have not been eliminated; reports do not pretend to be exhaustive, but no principles of selection appear to have been applied.

The most valuable work of the past decade has been the demonstration by Patterson and Rouse that A not only belonged to Richard de Fournival but was copied to the specifications of his library.[53] This fact has yet to make an impression upon editors; Richardson and Giardina do not mention it at

all, while Hanslik names Patterson's article in mutilated form but evidently has not read it, since he says that Fournival's manuscript is lost and was the source of A. Of great interest for the circulation of the text is the recent discovery of citations of Propertius among the annotations of an anonymous scholar in Bern 276, a copy of the *Vocabularium* of Papias.[54]

Recent scholars have accepted the conclusions of La Penna with or without slight modification in favour of or against attributing independent authority to DVVo, sometimes denying the possibility of constructing an accurate stemma; it has often been predicted that a new study of the manuscripts would prove a barren effort. The circulation of the text in the Middle Ages and Renaissance has been little studied, so that one of only two full-length studies of Propertius in English has this to say about the text in the Renaissance:

> The revival of learning naturally saw the production of texts of Propertius and the other elegists. The omnivorous and undiscriminating desire to recover all that could be known and published of the classical heritage helped the survival of even such difficult and misunderstood poets as Propertius. The *editio princeps* was published in 1472 in Venice, along with the work of Catullus, Tibullus, and Statius.[55]

The neglect reflected in such uninformed remarks cannot be corrected in so brief a survey as that which follows, but it is hoped that this work will to some small degree rectify the injustice done to the many scholars of the Renaissance, including the anonymous editor of the real *editio princeps*, the good, bad, or indifferent fruits of whose labours to make intelligible this 'misunderstood' poet are recorded here.

NOTES

1 Cf S. Timpanaro *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Florence 1963) and the expanded German translation *Die Entstehung der lachmannschen Methode* (Hamburg 1971).

2 To explain the dearth and his own use of a late manuscript Scaliger alluded to a story of Pontano reported by Alessandro Alessandri (*Geniales dies* 2.1) about a decayed codex under a wine cask from which all extant copies derive. The relevant portion of Scaliger's preface is cited in full by Boucher 343-4; for the anecdote of Alessandri see note 41 below, where an explanation will be attempted.

3 The count now stands at one twelfth- and one thirteenth-century manuscript, a more favourable situation than for Tibullus or Catullus.

4 Scaliger borrowed the codex from his friend Jacques Cujas. Palmer, who knew it when it was still in the possession of his friend Samuel Allen, identified it as Scaliger's copy in *Hermathena* 3 (1875) 124-58. It is not wholly negligible; copied by the scholar Pacificus Maximus, it is a respectable source of corrections (see chapter 8 below). Modern editions attribute to Scaliger at least one sure conjecture that he took from Maximus, 4.8.37 'uitrique.'

5 R. Pfeiffer *History of Classical Scholarship 1300-1850* (Oxford 1976) 190

6 For this, see chapter 3, note 22.

7 'Varianten der Helmstädter Handschrift des Properz' *Phil* 13 (1858) 387-94. The collation, made against Kuinoel's edition by C.L. Struve, was published by his nephew Theodor.

8 'De Propertii cuiusdam codicis deperditi fragmento' *Phil* 23 (1866) 346-7. They contained 1.5.16-1.6.36 and 1.10.4-1.11.27; the readings reported betray signs of humanist interpolation and are especially close to the Helmstadt manuscript mentioned in note 7.

9 'The Text of Propertius' a letter (dated 20 September 1879) printed in *Academy* for 4 October of that year. A list of contents mentioned Propertius, but the gathering that contained the extracts was missing; cf note 27 below.

10 'Varia' *Hermes* 5 (1871) 21-47 (especially 46)

11 'Der Neapolitanus des Propertius' *RM* 27 (1872) 162-3

12 'Vindiciae Propertianae' *RM* 35 (1880) 431-47

13 'The Neapolitanus of Propertius' *AJP* 1 (1880) 389-401

14 'The Codex Neapolitanus of Propertius' *CR* 17 (1903) 462-3

15 'Propertiana: Baehrens and the Codex Neapolitanus' *Hermathena* 7 (1881) 40-72

16 'Zur Kritik des Propertius' *Neue Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 127 (1883) 65-77

17 'Eine Properzhandschrift' *WS* 3 (1881) 160

18 'Eine neue Properzhandschrift' *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 96 (1893) 86-132

19 'Die Handschriften des Properz' *RM* 46 (1891) 577-88

20 See Plessis 1-45 on the manuscripts, 47-51 on earlier editions.

21 All entitled 'The Manuscripts of Propertius': *JP* 21 (1893) 101-60 (*Classical Papers* ed Diggle and Goodyear I 232-76); id 161-97 (I 277-304); id 22 (1894) 84-128 (I 314-47)

22 'But Baehrens was envied for his talents and disliked for his vanity and arrogance; many of his contemporaries, not all of whom deserved it, he had assailed with abuse' *JP* 21 (1893) 105.

23 Baehrens collated F himself and reported all three correcting hands as though they were one. V, however, he reported as corrected by several hands; in fact nearly all the

corrections are in a single hand, with only a few further additions. Since Baehrens got his collation of V from Mau at the Vatican, it is probable that Mau was simply more scrupulous in describing V than Baehrens himself had been in describing F.

24 Baehrens ed xiv; Housman *JP* 21 (1893) 150-1; for the score-card of recent editors cf chapter 3, note 7.

25 'On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius, with a Facsimile' *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* 4 (1894) 1-83. L was never 'in the library of Holkham Hall at Leicester,' as Richardson has it.

26 'For what if Δ arose from a codex not differing very much from AF to start with, into which readings had been copied from N or some cognate manuscript and also from another source, say W, whence come the characteristic DV readings?' (66). It will be argued in chapter 5 that DVVo do derive from a copy closely affiliated with AF; the truth about the other strands of text turns out to be less simple than Postgate suggested.

27 'The Manuscripts of Propertius' *CR* 9 (1895) 19-29 (*Classical Papers* I 351-68)

28 'The Manuscripts of Propertius' *CR* 9 (1895) 133; 178-86

29 In a review of Postgate's 1894 edition of Propertius, Housman said nothing about the manuscripts apart from a complaint about the introduction of two symbols to the apparatus that 'task the memory' (*CR* 9 (1895) 350-5 (*Classical Papers* I 369-77)). At a point in the Manilius preface where he might safely have made some general remark on the tradition he chose to say nothing (xxx-xxxi), but later he rightly criticized editors who put too much faith in N (xxxviii).

30 Among Housman's papers at his death was a text and apparatus of Propertius, presumably the same which he tried to have published in 1886. In his will, with a Virgilian sense of drama, he ordered it destroyed - and it was, with less than Augustan perspicacity; cf Goold 69. The loss is perhaps not irreparable, if the articles of 1893-4 represent at least a part of its introduction; an imperfect idea of its text may be formed from the published conjectures and from passing remarks in reviews, etc.

31 'Sui codici di Properzio' in 'Notizie storico-critiche di alcuni codici latini' *SIFC* 7 (1899) 106-10

32 'Spogli ambrosiani latini' *SIFC* 11 (1903) 354-9

33 'Die Beischriften des Wolfenbütteler Propertiuscodex Gudianus 224' *Neue Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 153 (1896) 63-70

34 'Eine neue Properzhandschrift' *Phil* 64 (1905) 414-37. He described it with some accuracy as conflated from an N-like

manuscript and one related to AFDV. He had previously discussed it in his 1899 Marburg dissertation *De Properti codice Lusatico*. It was also the subject of the 1910 Marburg dissertation of Heukrath *De Properti codice Lusatico L*, where it was suggested that the Lusaticus was copied about 1430; its true affiliations were suggested in the 1914 Greifswald dissertation of O. Neumann *De Propertii codicibus Urbinate 641, Lusatico, Vaticano 3273.*

35 *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Litteratur* (Berlin 1882) 413-26; cf also the same author's 'Bemerkungen zum "ersten Buche" des Properz' *RM* 38 (1883) 197-221.

36 'The Book Division of Propertius' *CP* 4 (1909) 45-51

37 'Zur Monobiblos und zum Codex N des Properz' *RM* 64 (1909) 393-411

38 *Propertius: Codex Guelferbytanus Gudianus 224 olim Neapolitanus phototypice editus* (Codices graeci et latini XVI) (Leiden 1911)

39 'Les manuscrits de Properce du Vatican' *Musée Belge* 13 (1909) 79-98. Many of Simar's assertions were challenged by Ullman in 1911 (below, note 42); Simar replied in *Musée Belge* 16 (1912) 47-51.

40 'Towards a Recension of Propertius' *JP* 31 (1910) 162-96; 'Towards a Reconstruction of the Text of Propertius' *CQ* 12 (1918) 59-74

41 The following is the passage of Alessandri (cf note 2) as cited by Richmond (*JP* 31; cf note 40) from the Frankfurt edition of 1591: 'Jovianus Pontanus uir multae eruditionis antiquissimo firmabat testimonio Propertii elegias patrum nostrorum aetate et se adulescentulo primum in lucem prodiise cum antea inscitia temporum incompertae forent et incognitae, opusque obliteratum et longissimo aeuo absumptum corrosis et labentibus litteris in cella uinaria sub doliis inuentum apparuisse et, cum libelli uetustate uerbis et nominibus absumptis longo situ et senio quod in diuturna obscuritate latuerant ueram lectionem assequi nequirent, effectum ut mendosi inde codices prodirent: paulatimque discuti errores et corrigi coepti sunt nec tamen effici quisse ut posteris omnino integri inoffensique darentur. Ad hunc modum Accius Syncerus noster scite admodum apud complusculos qui aderamus sermocinabatur itaque mendaces libellos deprehendebat erroresque diiudicabat ac perpenso iudicio uitia rimabatur.' This has universally been understood to mean that Pontano claimed that Propertius had been unknown until in his youth an old and badly faded copy was discovered under some barrels in a wine-cellar. By the time that Pontano, who was born in 1426, was *adulescentulus*, several copies circulated in Italy, and so Plessis, Richmond, Boucher, and others accuse Pontano of inaccuracy

or mendacity. This is unjust; the few available copies were confined to Padua (Petrarch's), Pavia (the Visconti library), Genoa (where L was copied in 1421), and Florence, and there is no evidence that Propertius was yet available outside these centres. It will be argued in chapter 4 that the wider circulation of Propertius begins in Ferrara in the 1430s or 1440s with a frequently copied codex of Aurispa. Pontano studied in Perugia, and afterwards in 1447, still in Northern Italy, entered the service of King Alfonso for whom he carried out diplomatic missions in Ferrara and elsewhere; he may have been witness to this phenomenon and may refer to it here (for the possibility that he acquired a copy himself, see again chapter 4). If this is so, then he perhaps knew the source from which these copies derived, a relatively recent manuscript, quite corrupt but presumably in at least fair condition. The description of the codex under the wine-barrels has, I suggest, been misunderstood. Alessandri quotes the story as told by Syncerus (ie Jacopo Sannazaro) in the context of a discussion of textual criticism and emendation (cf 'mendaces libellos deprehendebat,' etc; in the same passage he is represented proposing the conjecture 'te Prochytae' for 'Thesprotae' at 1.11.3). Sannazaro reports Pontano as having told the tale within a similar context: the condition of this copy, from which the *mendosi codices* were derived, explains why the text of Propertius was so corrupt that all the errors still had not been corrected in his lifetime. What Pontano said was found under the barrels was not a *codex*, however, but an *opus*, and I suggest that Pontano claimed no more than that *mendosi codices* deriving from an archetype in bad condition came to light during his youth; the story is only a piece of jocular *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*. All copies were corrupted because they derived from a single manuscript which was difficult to read; the work came to light so late because the archetype had long been lost; and the detail of the wine-cellar is only a colourful addition, perhaps inspired by the story of Catullus found under a bushel, probably a joking reference to one aspect of the poet's *nequitia*. If this explanation is correct, then it is curious that the Cambridge ms used by Richmond is apparently a descendant of that copied in Ferrara in the 1440s; others of Richmond's manuscripts are more remote descendants of it.

42 Ullman (note 43) easily refuted this by pointing to copies of humanistic texts that could not possibly derive from Insular exemplars; by the time his edition appeared (1928), Richmond had recanted much of his work on this 'Insular' copy but still retained its descendants in the apparatus (doubtless because he had based a number of conjectures upon their readings).

43 'The Manuscripts of Propertius' *CP* 6 (1911) 282-301

44 *The Manuscripts of Propertius* (diss Chicago 1934)

45 Hosius (note 19) cited Volscus' life of Propertius from Barb lat 34 without mentioning the collation; Simar (note 39) simply referred to a collation 'd'un autre manuscrit.' The presence of Paris BN lat 8458 in the Oxford text is due to her discussion (22-30).

46 *Le elegie di Sesto Properzio, secondo la versione genuina conservata dal manoscritto Vaticano Palatino 910* (Rome 1939); *Propertius resartus: Elegiarum libri a diuturna interpolatione redempti* (Rome 1951)

47 'The Missing Folios of the Paris Florilegium 15155' *CP* 33 (1938) 188-97

48 'A Second Propertius Florilegium' *CP* 48 (1953) 96-7; on this see chapter 2, 38f and note 4.

49 'Studi sulla tradizione di Properzio, I: Il posto e il valore di D (Daventriensis 1792) e V (Ottobonianus-Vaticanus 1514)' *SIFC* 25 (1951) 199-237; 'Studi sulla tradizione di Properzio (continuazione e fine)' *SIFC* 26 (1952) 5-36

50 *L'integrazione difficile: Un profilo di Properzio* (Torino 1977) 244-9

51 'Loci Propertiani' in *Hommages à Max Niedermann* Collection Latomus 23 (Brussels 1956) 324-8; *Propercio: Elegías* (Barcelona 1963) xxxii-xxxiv; cf also M.T. Belfiore Martire 'El texto de Propercio y los manuscritos salmanticos' *Emerita* 31 (1963) 1-10.

52 L. Swoboda *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des Properz* (diss Vienna 1963); K. Fischer *Die Codices recentiores und die Inkunabeln des Properz* (diss Vienna 1964)

53 S. Patterson 'Minor Initial Decoration Used to Date the Propertius Fragment (MS. Leiden Voss. lat. O.38)' *Scriptorium* 28 (1974) 235-47; R.H. Rouse 'The A Text of Seneca's Tragedies in the Thirteenth Century' *Revue d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971)

54 R.H. Rouse 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans' *Viator* 10 (1979)

55 J.P. Sullivan *Propertius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge 1976) 48. For a list of other works on the manuscripts and manuscript tradition of Propertius the reader may consult H. Harrauer *A Bibliography to Propertius* (Hildesheim 1973), a useful and generally reliable compilation but somewhat weak on material before 1800 (the list of early editions, for instance, omits seven incunabula and the first Aldine edition).

1

Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

The famous passage in which Quintilian offers his encapsulated evaluations of four Roman elegists assures us that Propertius continued to be read and admired by persons of learning and taste through the first and second centuries; Pliny the Younger provides similar evidence for those of lower attainment.[1] The presence of Book 1 along with works by Virgil and Livy in Martial's versified gift catalogue[2] suggests that at least a portion of his work had won the status of a popular classic. Imitations by Claudian, Sidonius, Boethius, and others demonstrate continued interest over the centuries among men of letters.[3]

Direct citations outside the grammarians are extremely rare. There is a very doubtful echo in the Declamations of ps-Quintilian.[4] The only explicit quotation, however, appears in Lactantius, *Div Inst* 2.6.14, where 4.1.11-14 are cited in the order 13, 14, 11, 12 and with 'nunc quae' instead of 'quae nunc' in 11. Internal evidence strongly suggests that the order given by our manuscripts is correct; that found in Lactantius may be the result of an original citation of 13-14 being supplemented as an afterthough with 11-12. It is interesting that, unless Lactantius used a copy related to the archetype of the tradition, his citation supports the manuscripts against modern conjectures.[5]

The citations by ancient grammarians are collected in an addendum to this chapter; some have considerable value. Donatus (perhaps from Suetonius) cites 2.34.65-6 in his *Vita Vergilii* and is the only source to preserve the *praenomen* Sextus; the manuscripts of the Latin Anthology have taken the lines from Donatus. Nonius Marcellus is the only authority for the title *Elegiarum libri*, just as the lemma to Martial 14.189 is the only authority for the title *Monobyblos*.[6] Several grammarians quote lines corrupted in the manuscript

tradition. Priscian's citation of 3.8.37 offers 'nexisti' instead of 'tendisti,' apparently a gloss now found in all the manuscripts. An otherwise unknown Macrobius has preserved 'candidus,' corrupted in the manuscripts to 'ardidus,' as the first word of 2.3.24, but incorrectly gives 'augustae' instead of 'argutum.' Two citations support the reading of one branch of the tradition against another. Charisius' reference to the rare feminine form 'serta' at 2.33.37 confirms the good faith of the codex Neapolitanus, which alone reads 'demissae ... sertae.' Yet the citation of 2.1.2 by Caesius Bassus confirms - if such confirmation were needed - that 'ora,' which the Neapolitanus corrupted to 'ore,' is correct. It also offers a valuable clue to the early circulation of the Propertian corpus.[7]

The fame of Propertius was eclipsed somewhat in the Middle Ages, but it has become increasingly clear in recent years that the picture is not quite so bleak as had been thought, at least in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in north-central France. At the turn of the century the date of N was still controversial, A was dated to the fourteenth century, and Manitius was able to find 'nur ganz schwache Spuren' of the elegies in medieval authors;[8] now, in addition to one probably twelfth-century and one securely thirteenth-century manuscript, we possess citations in two florilegia, forged and authentic citations by scholiasts and annotators, and literary imitations from the eighth to the fourteenth century revealing interest at first sporadic, then continuous, and finally, through Petrarch, forming a steady tradition from thirteenth-century France to the present.

There are no securely independent citations in the early Middle Ages. Isidore of Seville (*Orig* 18.4) cited 4.1.13, perhaps from Lactantius, though it has been suggested that both authors drew independently from a third source, perhaps Seneca;[9] Isidore's manuscripts give the line in the unmetrical form 'bucina cogebat priscos ad arma Quirites.'[10] The citation of the same line by Hrabanus Maurus in his *De uniuerso* (Migne *PL* CXI 535) apparently derives from Isidore, since there has been tampering to accomodate 'arma' ('bucina iam priscos cogebat ad arma Quirites'). Bede's citation of 3.11.15 in the *De orthographia* (*GLK* VII 266.26) probably comes from Charisius rather than from the *De dubiis nominibus*, where the author is identified as Prudentius.

The evidence for Carolingian imitation is inconclusive. Manitius noted that a phrase in Ermoldus Nigellus' poem on Louis the Pious (1.78; cf *Poetae latini aevi carolini* II 7) recalls Propertius 2.10.6 ('sat uoluisse fuit' in Ermoldus, 'et uoluisse sat est' in Propertius). This is not compelling, since there are similar phrases in other authors, 'at uoluisse

sat est' in *Laus Pis* 215 and 'est nobis uoluisse satis' in 'Tibullus' 3.7.7 (4.1.7), of which the latter appears to have been available in the court library of Charlemagne. Two possible echoes have been detected in Alcuin. 'Omnia uertuntur' (P 2.8.7) recurs at Alcuin 9.12 (*Poetae latini* ... II 7), as noted by Manitius; Ogilvy[11] suggests a borrowing from P 4.1.23 at Alcuin 49.9. Neither in kind nor in number are they sufficient to establish acquaintance with Propertius.

Two curiosities of uncertain date show that Propertius was not forgotten. The *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* of Fulgentius (identity and date uncertain) attributes to Propertius two lines not found among the extant works:

22 unde et Propertius: Catillata geris uadimonia, puplicum prostibulum.
34 sicut Propertius: Diuidias mentis conficit omnis amor.

The first, comic in metre and diction, can be dismissed out of hand; the second cannot, but the mistaken attribution of the first weakens the case for accepting it. Whether these reflect falsification or honest error we cannot say; if error, it is equally uncertain whether the fault lies with the author or with his tradition. Helm's Teubner text reports that in Paris BN lat 3088, a tenth-century copy, 'Propertius' has been corrected in both places to 'Petronius' by a hand of unspecified date. If the hand were medieval, then it might not be too fanciful to see the work of some scholar who, having gained access to a copy of the elegies, did not find the lines and altered his Fulgentius accordingly by conjecture; the corrections, however, appear to be modern (examined for me by J.G. Fitch).

The second, unquestionably a case of falsification, is a curious specimen of literary culture, the undated scholia to Ovid's *Ibis* preserved in the tenth-century manuscript Bern 711.[12] Their author responded to the unavailability of the elegists celebrated by Ovid by inventing passages from Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius, as well as others both real and fictitious. Each 'quotation' neatly recounts the required story. A remarkable stylistic consistency (at a low poetic level) unites the works of all these poets; likewise suggestive of mendacity is the manner in which two consecutive, unrelated, and highly obscure stories are illustrated by consecutive citations of the same author (eg 285, 287 Gallus; 311, 313 'Lupertius'; 317, 321 Varro; 325, 327 Gallus). Four passages are attributed to Propertius:

257 ... ut Propertius propter puellam:
Bellerophon monstrum potuit superare Chimaeram,

Crus laesisse tamen dicitur ille suum.
Omnia, ni fallor, pereunt bona, sed mala crescunt:
Huic sua, proh facinus, pena fuit pietas.
Hic potuit monstrum, nequeo superare puellam:
Vincam quam poterat tutius ipse quidem.

297 Unde Propertius ait:
O Brotea Brotea, quam uili es morte peremptus,
Femina te potuit, te superare uirum.

461 Unde Propertius:
Suffocabat humo uiuos Cassandrus idemque
(Et non immerito) passus ab ipse suis.

463 Unde Propertius:
Naupolus et quamuis patruus perit ense nepotis
Et uoluit natus esse parente prior.

No one even for a moment would consider that these might be genuine; but it is worth asking whether their author had any direct knowledge of Propertius. The single close verbal parallel ('Et non immerito' in the third passage; cf Propertius 2.6.35 'sed non immerito') is not substantial enough to be convincing; the forger did, however, have some knowledge of the *seruitium* motif of Roman elegy (not confined to Propertius). More interestingly, there is some similarity between the passage on Bellerophon and the Milanion *exemplum* of Propertius 1.1.9-18. In Propertius Milanion 'uelocem potuit domuisse puellam' (15), while Bellerophon 'monstrum potuit superare Chimaeram'; in both passages the poet, by contrast, is helpless (*passim* in Propertius 1.1), though the forger at least can console himself that he will not break his shin in the struggle. The parallels, though slight, are perhaps suggestive enough to allow that the scholiast may once have cast an eye at least upon the first pages of a copy of Propertius.

Knowledge of the text can be demonstrated securely only in north-central France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first signs of this familiarity are perhaps to be detected in the Latin 'comedia' *Pamphilus*, written probably in Orléans in the second half of the twelfth century.[13] Three lines may echo Propertius:

237 quamuis illicitum complexus nutrit amorem
(1.12.5 nec mihi consuetos amplexu nutrit amores;
but cf Ovid *M* 1.496 sperando nutrit amores)

414 igneus ille furor nescit habere modum
(2.15.30 uerus amor nullum nouit habere modum)

420 que magis in tali crimine lumen habet
(2.32.2 non cupiet: facti crimina lumen habent *codd.*)

The first, despite the passage of Ovid, is probably the most persuasive; note that 'illicitum' necessitated a change of prefix in the word for 'embrace.' As we shall see, time and geography at least allow the possibility that the author of *Pamphilus* could have read Propertius.

The first medieval scholar whose acquaintance with Propertius can be documented is John of Salisbury, who was educated at Chartres and Paris and died in 1180. The following comes from the prologue to his *De septem septenis*:

> Praesumpsit Accius scribendo Caesari, cui noluit assurgere in collegium poetarum uenienti. Propertius uero scripsit Augusto, quoniam et in ipso studiorum spes erat et ratio. In altero Musa mendicabat sine uirtute: in altero Musa mendicans triumphabat ex humilitate. Scientia tamen sine potentia poena erat in utroque. Scientia uero sola in Accio inflabat: uirtus cum scientia in Propertio mores et animum honestius componebat. Proinde uestrae praerogatiuae dignitatis nostrae Musa paruitatis scribit, non ut Accius tenuis, non ut Propertius exilis, quorum ingenia consumpta sunt in septem rerum principiis.[14]

The comments on Propertius derive chiefly from 2.10, while the story of the tragic poet Accius comes from Valerius Maximus 3.7.11: 'is [*sc* Accius] Iulio Caesari, amplissimo ac florentissimo uiro, in collegium poetarum uenienti numquam adsurrexit.' Certain details concerning Accius unattested in the ancient *testimonia* were obviously invented in order to create contrasts with John's notions about Propertius. Thus he is said to have written to Julius Caesar (Valerius refers to J. Caesar Strabo, but John probably thought the dictator was meant) because John read Propertius' 'letter' to Augustus, 2.10 (cf 'Auguste' 15). His Muse 'begged' because John deduced from 2.10.24, with its 'pauperibus sacris' and 'uilia tura,' that Propertius' Muse was also 'mendicans.' The triumph of Propertius' Muse over 'humilitas' comes from 2.10.11, 'surge anima ['anime' edd] ex humili iam carmine [all mss except F: 'carmina' F, edd]'. The estimate of the two poets' character is pure fantasy, but the description of Propertius as 'exilis' (probably a literary term, suggested by the 'poverty' of his poetry) perhaps came from the physical description at 2.22.21 ('si exilis uideor tenuatus in artus'). The corresponding picture of Accius as poor and 'tenuis' (not a literary term if John knew ancient estimates of Accius' style) could have been invented solely for the parallel with 'exilis,' unless it is

imaginatively derived from Persius 1.76 'uenosus liber Acci'; it could also be a conventional interpretation of him as a poor scholar-poet, suggested by the implication of obscurity in the conclusion of Valerius' anecdote ('insolentiae crimine caruit, quia ibi uoluminum, non imaginum certamina exercebantur').

The death of John of Salisbury is perhaps nearly contemporary with the copying of the oldest extant manuscript, N (Wolfenbüttel Gud lat 224). Where it was copied is uncertain; Metz has been proposed on inconclusive evidence (below, chapter 3). The next oldest extant copy is A, Leiden Voss lat O.38 (chapter 2), written little more than half a century later, perhaps in Orléans, for Richard de Fournival. A third medieval copy (chapter 3), now lost, circulated in Italy in the fifteenth century; it belonged to Poggio Bracciolini, who perhaps acquired it in or about Paris while journeying to England in 1418, since that is his only known visit to an area where the presence of Propertius can be documented; its date may fall anywhere between the ninth and twelfth centuries. It will be argued below (chapter 3) that N and Poggio's copy may share a common exemplar distinct from the archetype; thus there once existed three, and perhaps four, medieval copies besides the archetype.

The curious series of letters in the margins of N may have been taken over from its exemplar;[15] if they were invented by the copyist, it is difficult to see why they were inscribed with so little understanding. Thus 2.1.1-4 are marked successively with the letters *n*, *o*, *t*, *a*, but instead of an *o* the scribe wrote a backward *c*. In three places he wrote out in this manner not 'nota' but 'uota' (2.12.21-4, 2.16.43-6, 2.22.17-20). By 2.25.3-10 he wrote first 'nota,' then 'uatu,' which is perhaps another corrupt 'nota'; 'uuta' at 2.12.1-4, which is followed immediately by 'uide,' may be another. If nothing else, these markings suggest an interested medieval reader, an observation not without relevance to the textual tradition; but, if they are inherited, their corrupt condition may also show that the archetype or an ancestor suffered damage to its edges. This is also suggested by passages where the first letter of a line has been lost (certainly at 2.3.24, more controversially at 3.2.16 and 4.1.8), but the first letter of a line of poetry is often separated slightly in medieval copies and so subject to loss through the accidents of copying. More interesting is the case of the last elegy (4.11), where the beginnings of several lines appear to be corrupt.[16]

One important observation concerning the archetype is that it contained no titles of any kind. In N only the concluding *Explicit* was written along with the text; *Incipit Propertius* was added at the beginning, still at an early date, perhaps

by someone who recovered the author's name from the text, where it first appears at 2.8.17. N left no space between elegies except before 3.1 and 4.1, where there was probably a space in the archetype; the start of Book 2, not so indicated in N, must also have been marked in the archetype, since it is correctly observed in the other manuscripts. Except at 2.1 the elegies were copied continuously in A as well (it should be remembered that the manuscript now ends at 2.1.63) and the titles added later in the margins; one infers from this that they were not present in the exemplar but were invented after copying. There can in fact be no doubt that these titles were invented in the Middle Ages and do not derive from an ancient source. The descendants of A give to 3.14 the title *Ad Spart(h)um*, which shows that its creator knew nothing of Greece and followed medieval, not classical, rules of scansion (it comes from 3.14.1 'multa tuae, Sparte, miramur iura palaestrae'); the same copies give 3.10, on Cynthia's birthday, the title *Ad Niobem*, which comes from a passing reference in line 8. The author's name and the title of the *corpus* as given in A are likewise the inventions of a medieval scholar, most certainly Fournival himself. Taking 'Propertius' from the text, 'Aurelius' from confusion or imagined affiliation with Aurelius Prudentius,[17] 'Nauta' from 'nauita' in the corrupt 2.24.38, 'Monobyblos' from the lemma to Martial 14.189, and Tullus from 1.19, he concocted 'monobiblos propercii aurelii naute ad tullum.'[18] The descendants of Poggio's copy give two titles, *Monobyblos* (from Martial or from the A tradition) and *Liber elegiarum* (from Nonius Marcellus); their source probably contained none at all.[19] Since the division of books preserved in the manuscripts seems to be correct, probably this and nothing else was marked in the archetype; the absence of any indication of authorship may well be the most decisive reason for the long neglect of Propertius in the Middle Ages.

There are three other medieval witnesses. Bibl Vat Reg lat 2120 (formerly part of the codex now Paris BN lat 15155) is the earlier of the two medieval florilegia containing extracts from Propertius;[20] apparently copied in Orléans, it probably dates from the first half of the thirteenth century.[21] There is some correspondence between the notes in the margins of N and the lines contained in the florilegium:[22]

1.2.8	*u* (N)	2.16.21	*u*
5.23	*u*	36	*Nota*
6.27	*Nota*	18.1	*Nota*
7.26	*u*	38	(not marked)
9.7	*t*	19.3	(not marked)
12	*u*	32	*Nota*
12.16	*u*	22.17	*u/o/t/a* (17-21)

14.8	*Nota*	25.22	(not marked)
2.1.16	*t*	28	*Nota*
43-4	*t/u*	28.58	*nota* (on 57)
58	*Nota*	32.25	*nota* (on 26)
5.16	*u*	55	*Pro(uerbium)*
13.52	*Nota*	33.33-4	*Nota*
14.18	*Nota*	34.3	*Pro(uerbium)*
15.30	*Nota*		

The notes in N cease toward the end of Book 2. This partial correspondence between N and the florilegium is no evidence that the florilegium derives from N; an excerptor and an annotator could be drawn to the same lines. More importantly, the florilegium correctly reads 'enumerat' in 2.1.44 where N gives 'et numerat.' Nor is the florilegium likely to derive from A, which may well be later. Unless it derives from Poggio's lost copy, Reg lat 2120 must be regarded as having drawn upon the archetype itself, and this may provide evidence to put the archetype in or near Orléans in the thirteenth century. The extracts in this florilegium also include a scurrilous Leonine distich intercalated between two consecutive lines of Propertius, 'Omnis amans cecus: non est amor arbiter equs: / Nam deforme pecus iudicat esse decus' between 2.33.33 and 34. Their position may indicate that the source, whether a manuscript or another florilegium, contained them in the margin, probably as a comment on 'uino forma perit' in 2.33.33. The second florilegium (Paris BN lat 16708) derives from A and will be considered in chapter 2.

The second medieval witness to be considered here is Bern 276, a copy of Papias' *Vocabularium* heavily glossed by a scholar working perhaps in Orléans in the third quarter of the thirteenth century;[23] he knew some remarkably rare texts, such as Propertius, Tibullus, Calpurnius, and Donatus' commentary on Terence.[24] He cites four lines of Propertius in full (2.1.16, 2.14.18, 4.3.42, 4.7.9) and alludes to a fifth (4.7.26: 'tegula. Iuuenalis et propertius ... a theca, quod est repositio uel regimen'; cf also Isidore *Orig* 18.9.3). The two lines from Book 2 are also found in Reg lat 2120, but the three references to Book 4 probably guarantee that the annotator used a complete copy; his text offers nothing significantly different from the manuscript tradition. The lines cited in full are all introduced in the same manner, 'propertius in secundo' (or 'quarto') 'elegiarum'; this is surely derived from the citation of 3.21.14 by Nonius Marcellus, who figures prominently among the notes in Bern 276. N can be eliminated as the annotator's source for two reasons: first, 4.7.9 is quoted correctly with 'beryllon,' rather than 'beryllos,' as in N; second, since N not only does not number books

but fails to separate Book 2 from Book 1, no scholar who used it could have known from which book he cited. A can also be eliminated, for if he had used it we would expect him to use the name and title that Fournival invented. If he used the archetype, which indicated book division but not authorship, it is clear why he had to go to Nonius for a form of citation; Nonius, however, perhaps provides a clue suggesting that he used Poggio's copy.[25]

The remaining evidence for medieval knowledge of Propertius belongs to the less objective category of literary imitation. Hosius (ed xviii-xxi) collected possible echoes from the *Troilus* of Albert, a thirteenth-century abbot of Stade, near Hamburg.[26] After eliminating both passages for which Hosius cited an Ovidian parallel and probably coincidental agreements only a few suggestive similarities remain:

3.146 non datur ulla quies
(1.18.28 et datur ... dura quies)

3.808 milia quanta dabant
(1.5.10 milia quanta dabit)

4.394 tanti criminis ultor eris
(1.4.20 erit tanti criminis illa memor)

6.146 et ruet ad nostros Graecia uicta pedes
(3.11.60 et Pyrrhi ad nostros gloria fracta pedes; cf also Ovid *H* 3.84 et iacet ante tuos Graecia maesta pedes)

6.800, 1.512 piscibus esca datur
(3.7.8 piscibus esca natat)

Even these could be discounted as involving phrases neither abstruse nor unnatural. Considering the remoteness of Stade from centres where knowledge of Propertius can be documented, Hosius' suggestion that Albert's Propertian 'echoes' come at second hand from a yet unnoticed literary source may be correct, unless it could be shown that Albert had studied at Orléans or Paris; such an argument, however, runs the risk of circularity. Albert's familiarity with Propertius is far from being established; one of the imitations (1.609 'igneus ille furor nescit habere modum,' to be compared with Propertius 2.15.30) is identical with *Pamphilus* 414, composed in a city where the availability of Propertius can be demonstrated.

Hosius relegated to a footnote (xxi note 1) possible imitations in a poem on the fall of Troy which he knew as the work of Hildebert; it is, as Professor R.J. Tarrant has informed

me, the *Iliad* of Simon Aureacapra, a twelfth-century canon of St Victor in Paris (inc: 'Diuitiis regno specie'; Walther 4645).[27] One of the suggested echoes is a phrase already noted in Albert and *Pamphilus* ('nescit habere modum'). Far more interesting - perhaps even convincing - is the possible imitation in 250 'huic domui soli nil nocuere doli' of Propertius 3.7.42 'in mare cui soli ['*soliti*' edd] non ualuere doli. The proximity of Paris to Orléans makes still more plausible the suggestion that Simon had first-hand knowledge of Propertius.

Another claim regarding echoes of Propertius in medieval authors must be examined at greater length, because it has been accepted by La Penna, Hubbard, and Reynolds[28] and seems likely to be adopted into the common body of text-historical lore. Guido Billanovich,[29] after reading 'con amore e pazienza' the Latin poetry of the so-called Paduan pre-humanists (Lovato Lovati, Albertino Mussato, Zambono di Andrea), concluded that they showed considerable familiarity with such rare texts as Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid's *Ibis*, Statius' *Siluae*, and Catullus (the last of whom they could have known from the copy in the Cathedral Library of Verona, the ancestor of all existing complete manuscripts). Lovato and his friends were unquestionably scholars of ability and, so far as their times allowed, of attainment,[30] but it would be remarkable indeed to find in Padua at the start of the fourteenth century a text, previously restricted to a single region of France, which seems not to have returned to Italy until Petrarch's lifetime and not to have circulated widely until well after his death. Obviously it would be impractical to discuss all eighty-four passages of Lovati, Mussato, and Zambono alleged to show the influence of Propertius; a few can be chosen to illustrate the principles in question. The best point of departure is the parallel cited by Billanovich in his introductory remarks, to which he may be presumed to attach special importance:

Mussato *Ep* 1.9-10:
Carmine sub nostro, cupidi lasciua Catulli
Lesbia, dulce tibi nulla susurrat auis.

Propertius 2.34.87-8:
Haec quoque lasciui cantarunt scripta Catulli,
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.

Ovid *Tr* 2.427-8:
Sic sua lasciuo cantata est saepe Catullo
femina cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat.

According to Billanovich, the passage of Propertius is 'senza dubbio più aderente al passo di Mussato' than that of Ovid because Mussato and Propertius both put 'Lesbia' at the start of the pentameter (he does not mention that its case is vocative in Mussato, nominative in Propertius). This is hardly convincing; once Mussato varied Ovid by transferring the epithet 'lasciuus' from Catullus to Lesbia and addressing her directly (perhaps influenced, as Billanovich observed, by Catullus 72.1-2); the beginning of the pentameter was the only possible position for her name. In every case where Billanovich cites an Ovidian parallel in addition to the Propertian, Ovid is significantly closer than Propertius to the words of the Paduan poet.[31] A second kind of false parallel is agreement in commonplace phrases: cf 'nil agis' in Lovato *Ep* 3.73 and Propertius 2.32.19; 'ad patrios ... lares' in *Ep* 5.68 and Propertius 2.30.22;[32] 'medicina dolores' ending a hexameter in *Ep* 5.51 and Propertius 2.1.57.[33] A third class is that in which allegedly parallel passages simply contain several of the same words scattered over a number of lines. The comparison of Lovato *Ep* 5.21-40 and Propertius 4.9 is an example; both mention Juno and Libya and use the patronymics Alcides and Amphitryonides (the latter also in Ovid *M* 9.140), not surprising in two poets writing about Hercules; the words 'parce,' 'precor,' 'aqua,' and 'casa' happen also to occur in both poems, but the coincidence proves no more than 'spare,' 'please,' 'water,' and 'house' would in two English poems.[34] Other supposed parallels resist this typology; note the alleged echo in Mussato *Ep* 3.14(45) 'namque sibi dici non pateretur aue' (ie, he would not allow himself to be greeted) of Propertius 2.25.14 'Caucaseas etiam si pateremur aues.' The great Paduan surprise, at least so far as concerns Propertius, seems to be illusory.

The evidence for the *fortuna* of Propertius can be summarized briefly. Knowledge of the text can be documented in the twelfth century in the work of John of Salisbury (trained at Chartres and Paris) and in the thirteenth at Orléans (Fournival's copy and Reg lat 2120 in the first, Bern 276 in the second half of the century). Possible echoes can be found in Alcuin, in *Pamphilus* (from twelfth-century Orléans), and in Simon Aureacapra (from twelfth-century Paris). N was copied in some unknown part of France at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. This evidence coheres extraordinarily well: Propertius was available and was read in Orléans in the thirteenth century and possibly before, perhaps in Paris at about the same time, and nowhere else in Europe. Beyond this only speculation is possible; if Alcuin did know

Propertius, then it might not be unreasonable to suggest that the archetype was copied at Tours while Alcuin was abbot of St Martin's (796-804).[35]

If the hypothesis of a Tours manuscript be admitted, could its exemplar have come from the court library of Charlemagne? There may be a close parallel with the Tibullan tradition, which does seem to begin with such a copy, listed in a catalogue believed to represent the court collection of ca 790;[36] the failure of the archetype to name the author could explain its omission from the catalogue. The next secure point in the transmission of both is Richard de Fournival and Orléans.[37] Fournival's copy is the source of Petrarch's and Petrarch's of Salutati's; Salutati's Tibullus seems to be the sole source of the humanistic tradition. There is another parallel, for the Tibullan archetype must also have lacked indications of authorship, at least from the end of the genuine works, while the *Vita* and epitaph that circulated with the text would have made the contents identifiable under any circumstance; quite possibly there were no titles at all in the archetype, and those found in the Ambrosianus and later manuscripts derive from Fournival. If this much is granted, then one might argue from the absence of titles in the archetypes of both elegists that they might have been transmitted from late antiquity in a single codex, to be separated only during the Carolingian period or by Fournival for the sake of his *Biblionomia*.

ADDENDUM: EXTRACTS FROM KEIL

Note: The following extracts from the Roman grammarians are taken from the text of Keil *Grammatici Latini* except for Nonius and Servius, taken from the editions of Lindsay and Thilo-Hagen respectively except that Lindsay's 'IIII' has been corrected to 'III'; excerpts from Keil's critical apparatus have been included where it seemed worthwhile to do so.

2.1.2 Caesius Bassus *De metris* (*GLK* VI 264)
ad summum pentametrum heroum, qui habet dactylos primos duos, uelut hunc,

unde meus ueniat mollis in ora liber,

adiectis duabus syllabis longis facies choriambicum ex heroo pentametro sic,

unde meus nunc ueniat mollis in ora liber.

2.3.24 Macrobius *De differentiis et societatibus Graeci Latinique uerbi* (*GLK* V 626)
sternuto frequentatiuum est a principali sternuo: Propertius

candidus augustae sternuit omen Amor.

2.9.41 Servius ad Virg *E* 5.21 'uos coryli testes et flumina nymphis'
quod autem ait 'coryli testes et flumina' usurpatum est; nam 'testes flumina' non dicimus: quae enim in 'is' exeunt, neutrum in 'e' mittunt, ut 'agilis agile', sed nec 'hoc teste' nec 'haec testia' possumus dicere. unde per definitionem debemus dicere: testes mihi sunt; quae res? coryli et flumina: sic Horatius testis Metaurum flumen, Propertius testes sunt sidera nobis.

2.13.35 Charisius *Inst Gram* (*GLK* I 89)
Puluis masculini generis est, quamuis Propertius dixerit
qui nunc iacet horrida puluis.
(cui nuntia et horrida cod. Neap. IV A 8)

id Auctor de dubiis nominibus (*GLK* V 588)
Puluis generis masculini; sed Propertius dicit 'horrida puluis.'

2.14.1 Charisius (*GLK* I 67)
nam masculina modo es modo a nominatiuo casu ueteres terminauerunt, uelut Anchises Anchisa, Chryses Chrysa, Attes Atta; similiter Atrides Atrida, ut Propertius
non ita Dardanio gauisus Atrida triumpho.

2.33.37 Charisius (*GLK* I 107)
Serta neutro genere dicuntur, ut Vergilius
serta procul tantum capiti delapsa iacebant.
sed Propertius feminine extulit sic,
tua praependent demissae in pocula sertae.
(dimissae cod. Neap. IV A 8)

id Auctor de dubiis nominibus (*GLK* V 590)
Serta pluraliter dixit Virgilius ... sed Propertius dicit 'cum tua praependent demissae in pocula sertae.'
(*Lacunam indicauit Keil*; praepandent M, praeandent V; poculo MV)

3.8.7 Diomedes *Art Gramm* (*GLK* I 369)
necto nexui uel nexi, Vergilius
palmas amborum innexuit armis,
Liuius in Odyssea
nexabant multa inter se,
Maecenas
nexisti retia lecto,
Lucilius satirarum quinto
tum retia nexit.

id Priscianus *Inst* (*GLK* II 536)
similiter 'necto nexui' et 'nexi.' Virgilius in V:

Et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
Sallustius in historiarum I: nexuit catenae modo. Lucilius in V:
hic solus uigilauit, opinor,
Et cum id mi uisus facere est, tum retia nexit.
Propertius:
At tibi, qui nostro nexisti retia lecto.

3.11.15 Charisius (*GLK* I 103)
Cassidem dicimus nos ab eo quod est haec cassis; sed multi cassidam dicunt, ut Propertius
aurea cui postquam nudauit cassida frontem,
et Vergilius
aurea uati
cassida.

id Auctor de dubiis nominibus (*GLK* V 576)
Cassidem generis feminini, ut Prudentius 'aurea cui postquam nudauit cassida frontem.'
(Prudentius *codd.*, *corr.* Haupt; aureā *codd.* MVL)

3.21.14 Nonius Marcellus II (p 249 Lindsay)
Secundare, prosperare. Vergilius lib. VII:
di nostra incepta secundent.
Propertius elegiarum lib. III:
iam liquidum nautis aura secundat iter.

4.10.44 Auctor de dubiis nominibus (*GLK* V 592)
Torques generis feminini, ut Propertius ...

NOTES

1 Quint 10.1.93; Pliny *Ep* 6.15.1, 9.22.1. The letters of Pliny refer to a descendant of Propertius who wrote elegies in emulation of him; Pliny's reaction to these later works suggests the enthusiasm of the amateur rather than the severity of the professional critic. The remaining *testimonia* (references in Ovid, Statius, Martial, Apuleius, Sidonius) are collected in Butler-Barber ix-x, Schuster's Teubner text xxi-xxiv, and elsewhere.

2 Mart 14.189

3 These have been collected by Enk in his edition of Book 1 (I 54-77) and by Shackleton Bailey, 'Echoes of Propertius' *Mnem* 4a ser V (1952) 307-33, with supplementary material in *Propertiana*.

4 Shackleton Bailey on 4.3.49 drew attention to the expression of the same sentiment in (Quint) *Decl* 286 (153.9 Ritter) and 291 (161.12 Ritter); in the latter case at

least the possibility of reminiscence should perhaps be considered.

5 On this citation see J.E.G. Zetzel 'The Earliest Transposition in Propertius' *AJP* 101 (1980) 314-15, and my 'The Earliest Inaccurate Citation of Propertius' *AJP* 102 (1981) 327-9.

6 There is no manuscript authority for *monobyblos* outside Martial; see below, p 25.

7 Cf B.L. Ullman 'The Book Division of Propertius' *CP* 4 (1909) 45-51.

8 'Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter in Mittelalter,' *Phil* 51 (1892) 531-2: the references or citations collected by Manitius include those in Bede, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Ermoldus Nigellus, and John of Salisbury (without drawing attention to the linguistic parallels with Propertius in the last case). Nothing pertaining to Propertius is to be found in the same author's *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen Beiheft 67 (Leipzig 1935). Modern discussions neglect the Carolingian references and John of Salisbury: La Penna (*L'integrazione difficile* 254) mentions N, Albert of Stade, and the Paduans; Hubbard (*Propertius* 4) N, A (without naming Fournival), and the Paduans; Reynolds (*Scribes and Scholars*) N, Fournival, Reg lat 2120, and the Paduans (all of these are discussed later in this chapter).

9 R.M. Ogilvie *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978) 10

10 Paris BN lat 7989 (P) gives 'bella' for 'uerba'; there is no need to suspect a connection with 'arma' in Isidore's citation.

11 J.D.A. Ogilvy *Books Known to the English 597-1066* (Cambridge 1967) 229

12 Published by F.W. Lenz in his Paravia text of the *Ibis* (Turin 1952²).

13 G. Cohen *La comédie latine en France au XII*e *siècle* (Paris 1931); cf also B. Roy 'Arnulf of Orléans and the Latin "Comedy"' *Speculum* 49 (1974) 258-66, and T. Hunt 'Chrestien and the *Comediae*' *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978) 120-56. *Pamphilus* is cited here from the edition of F.G. Becker (Ratingen 1972).

14 *Joannis Saresberiensis ... opera omnia ... collegit ... J.A. Gilles* (Oxford 1848) V 209

15 Major discussions of these are to be found in Birt's preface to the photographic facsimile of N (Leiden 1911) and the article of K. Dziatzko mentioned in the introduction, note 33.

16 See the annotation below (200) on 4.11.18-20.

17 Or from similarity aided by proximity in an alphabetical

catalogue, somewhat as Manilius acquired the *cognomen* Boethius from being bound together with a copy of Boethius' *De arithmetica* (the similarity of the name Manilius to Manlius aided the process); cf Manilius ed G.P. Goold (Cambridge and London 1977) cvii-ix, with literature. Sabbadini (*SIFC* 7 [1899] 106-10) suggested that Aurelius derived from the corruption of a phrase 'Properti aurei uatis Monobyblos.'

18 In his famous book classification, the *Biblionomia* (long thought to be a fantasy of wishful thinking), Fournival gives the title in a different order: 'Propertii Aurelii Naute liber monobiblos.'

19 For the descendants of Poggio's copy see chapter 3. The earliest of them (v) gives 'Monobiblos Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Tullum' (as in A) 'Vel Elegiarum Liber Secundum Nonium Marcellum'; four others (mrus) give variations of a confused form of this, 'Monobiblos Elegiarum Liber,' while the last (c) gives, by conjecture, the title 'Cynthia.' Their titles to individual elegies are derived from descendants of A.

20 Paris 15155 was first noticed by R. Ellis, who reported it in a letter to the *Academy* ('The Text of Propertius' 4 October 1879); Baehrens confidently predicted in his edition of the following year that the missing leaves, if found, would contain nothing of Propertius other than 2.34.65-6, also found in the Latin Anthology. The leaves with the lines from Propertius were discovered by D. Robathan ('The Missing Folios of the Paris Florilegium 15155' *CP* 33 [1938] 188-97); they contain 1.2.8; 5.23; 6.27; 7.26; 9.7,12; 12.16; 14.8: 2.1.16,43-4,58; 5.16; 13.52; 14.18; 15.30; 16.21,36; 18.1,38; 19.3,32; 22.17; 25.22,28; 28.58; 32.25,55; 33.33-4; 34.3,18: 3.1.24; 5.13; 6.5; 9.4; 13.4,49-50: 4.6.51; 7.1; 11.2,7. Reg lat 2120 is described in Pellegrin II 513-18.

21 In the fourteenth century it was sold by one Henri François of Orléans; cf F. Novati 'Un poème inconnu de Gautier de Châtillon' in *Mélanges Paul Fabre* (Paris 1902) 267; É. Pellegrin 'Manuscrits de l'abbaye de St. Victor' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 103 (1942) 74-96.

22 I am grateful to Professor Francis Newton for making available to me an unpublished paper on the Propertius florilegia.

23 These annotations were brought to my attention by Mr Michael Reeve; I have examined the manuscript *in situ* as well as in a microfilm copy made available to me by Professor Richard Rouse, whose conversation and correspondence have benefited much of what follows. For Bern 276 cf R.H. Rouse 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in

Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Orléans' *Viator* 10 (1979) 131-60.

24 On the last of these see M.D. Reeve and R.H. Rouse 'New Light on the Transmission of Donatus's "Commentum Terentii"' *Viator* 9 (1978) 235-49; M.D. Reeve 'The Textual Tradition of Calpurnius and Nemesianus' *CQ* ns 28 (1978) 230-1 discusses the Calpurnius citations.

25 Poggio's copy seems to have contained both *Monobyblos* and *Liber elegiarum*, with a reference to Nonius (cf note 19 above). There is no way to determine whether *Liber elegiarum* was added by a Renaissance scholar or was already present in the manuscript; if already present, it might have been added by the Bern annotator, but one cannot be certain. Poggio himself is a plausible candidate since he is known to have acquired a Nonius in Paris in 1418.

26 *Troilus Alberti Stadensis* ed T. Merzdorf (Leipzig 1875). There is an inconclusive treatment of these citations by C.J. Crowley in *Romanitas* 6-7 (1965) 83-9.

27 The identification of the poet with the canon is made by F.J. Stohlmann 'Magister Simon Aurea Capra: Zu Person und Werk des späteren Kanonikers von St. Viktor' in *Hommages à Boutemy* (Brussels 1976) 343-66.

28 La Penna 254 (cf note 8): 'in Lovato Lovati ... sono stati indicati, con paralleli abbastanza seri, echi notevoli del poeta umbro'; Hubbard 4: 'It seems unfortunately to have displaced what might well have been a superior tradition, that known to the pre-Petrarchan scholars of Padua, who had some good manuscripts derived from the Cathedral library of Verona or from the Abbey of Pomposa on the Adriatic coast'; Reynolds-Wilson 110-11: 'Lovato appears to have been acquainted with Lucretius, Catullus, the *Odes* of Horace, the whole of Tibullus, Propertius, Martial, the *Silvae* of Statius, Valerius Flaccus, and such little-known works as Ovid's *Ibis* ... Petrarch was not the first humanist to know Propertius.'

29 '"Veterum vestigia vatum" nei carmi dei preumanisti padovani' *IMU* 1 (1958) 155-243

30 Giuseppe Billanovich *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini* (Padua 1953); for a discussion of the claim that Lovato consulted the codex Etruscus of Seneca's tragedies (Laur pl.37,13), cf Sen *Agamemnon* ed R.J. Tarrant (Cambridge 1976) 26-7.

31 Further examples include the first in Billanovich's enumeration, Lovato *Ep* 32 'Hic me seminecem Stigia reuocauit ab unda,' which is far closer to Ovid *Tr* 5.9.19, 'seminecem Stygia reuocasti solus ab unda,' than to Propertius 2.13.3, 'Hic me tam graciles uetuit contemnere Musas' (the sole parallel is the combination 'hic me'); nor did Mussato need

Propertius 3.1.20, 'capiti ... corona meo,' in order to transform Ovid *AA* 1.582, 'capiti ... corona tuo' into his own *Ep* 2.10 'capiti ... corona meo.'

32 Albert of Stade has the same, 'ducere per patrios otia laeta lares' (6.30).

33 Cf also 'ignoscere culpae' in Lovato *Ep* 3.52 and Propertius 4.8.73; 'prima iuuenta' in Mussato *Ep* 13.18 and Propertius 3.5.19.

34 This is the largest class, of which again only a few further examples can be given; for instance, both Lovato *Ep* 3.95-6 and Propertius 2.21.3 contain the words 'augur' and 'tibi'; Lovato *Ep* 4.86, 90, 92 and Propertius 3.13.6, 8 both associate Arabians and spices (as often in Latin poetry): Billanovich seems to think it significant that Lovato names a Red Mountain and Propertius the Red Sea.

35 Ullman proposed Corbie as the source of the exemplar of Fournival's Propertius. Professor Rouse has suggested that Fleury would be better than Tours because of the analogy with Tibullus; extracts from Tibullus appear at Monte Cassino, which had close ties with Fleury.

36 Berlin Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 66; cf B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen' in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* ed W. Braunfels (Düsseldorf 1965) II 42-62.

37 Professor Rouse assures me that thirteenth-century books of extracts including Tibullus (such as Paris 15155) derive from the Florilegium Gallicum, compiled 'almost certainly' at Orléans. It is also worth noting that the annotator of Bern 276 knew both Propertius and Tibullus.

2

The A Tradition

The first branch of the tradition to be discussed in detail is the most corrupt of the medieval branches but the most influential in the very early Italian tradition. It begins with the Leiden fragment A (University Library Voss lat 0.38), of the mid-thirteenth century. Only the first two gatherings survive, containing 1.1.1-2.1.63, and the remainder must be reconstructed from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century descendants. Difficulties are compounded by the fact that all the descendants of A (except the florilegium Paris BN lat 16708) derive not from A itself but from a lost copy made for and perhaps by Petrarch, who both annotated and emended the text; two of these descendants do not overlap the extant portion of A. This chapter will consider first A and the florilegium derived from it, then Petrarch's copy and its four close descendants (F = Florence Bibl Laur pl.38,49; L = Oxford Bodleian Library Holkham Misc 36; P = Paris BN lat 7989; Z = Venice Bibl Naz Marc Fondo antico 443), as well as two 'second generation' descendants (Brussels Bibl Royale 14638 and an *antiquum manuscriptum* collated by an unknown scholar about 1600 in Barb lat 34).

Burman cited a few readings of A under the name 'Vossianus secundus,' but it was introduced to modern editions by Emil Baehrens, who gave it its present siglum in his edition of 1880. His own date for the manuscript (ca 1360) was immediately seen to be too late, and was set back to ca 1300 by Maunde Thompson[1] and M.R. James.[2] This date persists in editions[3] despite the recent demonstration that A not only is the work of a scribe and a decorator known to have worked for Richard de Fournival but was copied to the specifications of his library, so that it can be dated to about 1230-50; Ullman had already suspected as much but did not press the point against Thompson and James. Ullman did show by means of the second

folio *incipit* that A is the Propertius (or rather *Propitius de uirtutibus*) listed in a 1338 catalogue of the library of the Sorbonne, where, he conjectured, Petrarch saw and copied it. There is no evidence for its subsequent history until about 1600, when it was acquired by Paul Petau; it is quite unlikely that A left France before entering the library of Queen Christina of Sweden. Four correcting and annotating hands can be distinguished. The first belongs to the scribe, who made most of the corrections to the text. The second made some additions to the titles (the presence of one of these, 1.1 'heroys prima,' in F shows that this corrector worked before Petrarch's copy was made in the 1330s), and contributed some proverbs and a citation of Seneca. The third wrote at least nineteen notes in a humanistic or semi-humanistic script, all of them so thoroughly erased that even under ultra-violet light only isolated letters or words are legible: perhaps this is the hand of Petrarch, for the single note that can be read in full, 1.5.1 'Galle, quam inuides,' has the ring of his style of annotation familiar from other manuscripts. The fourth added the omitted line 1.6.15 (since the scribe did not add the line when correcting, it may already have been omitted in his exemplar; if true, this would in turn imply that his exemplar was already at least one stage removed from the archetype, requiring the supposition of another lost medieval copy).

Petrarch was not the only scholar to consult A while it resided at the Sorbonne. Paris BN lat 16708, a late fourteenth-century manuscript from the University, contains excerpts from Propertius and Tibullus under the title *Flosculi propercii tibulli de amore.*[4] As often happens in florilegia, there are odd imbalances: for instance, fourteen lines were taken from 3.17, whereas only two were taken from the whole of Book 4. The high degree of corruption suggests (but does not prove) that the lines have been taken not directly from A but from an intermediate collection. Several agreements in error with A (the last below is the most significant) put the identity of their source beyond doubt:

1.1.34 defit) desit
2.1 uita) uitta
29 nec) ne
9.8 posito A^{pc}) apposito A^{ac}: opposito Flor

Editors have so far failed to exploit the florilegium for its obvious value in reconstructing A after 2.1.63. In 2.8.12 F and P read 'dicit' rather than 'dixit': so does this florilegium, and so, quite probably, did A. In 3.17.17 F reads 'numine,' while LPZ have 'numen,' except that L has corrected

to 'numerem'; the florilegium gives 'numē,' which, in view of 'numen' in N, may have been the reading of the archetype.

Baehrens also introduced F, which he thought a descendant of the same source as A; again, however, it was Ullman who established its history and importance. F contains the ex-libris of the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati, who appears from his extant correspondence to have obtained a copy of the Propertius in Petrarch's library between 1379 and 1381. Although Ullman demonstrated seven decades ago that F derives from A, no editor has taken the obvious step of suppressing its readings where A survives. Like A, F was corrected by four hands; Ullman identified two of them, while his pupil Ferguson in detailed fashion distinguished the corrections made by each. The earliest corrector is the scribe himself, emending his errors from the exemplar. The second is Lombardo a Serico (della Seta), who had charge of Petrarch's books after his death; he, too, corrected from the exemplar, transcribing a number of Petrarch's annotations and conjectures.[5] Ullman identified the third corrector as Salutati; his contribution consists of generally unconvincing conjectures in passages where F is defective (he had no other copies to collate). The last corrector (he is only one, not several) is an as yet unidentified scholar who worked at about the middle of the fifteenth century and added a large number of corrections derived from an identifiable family (see chapter 4). Because it was the first descendant of Petrarch's copy to be identified, F has perhaps enjoyed a position of greater eminence than its extremely corrupt text deserves; in 4.11.20 many editors continue to favour its error 'uindicet' over 'iudicet,' the reading of the rest of the tradition, despite the considerable difficulties of interpretation that the error causes.

Next in date comes L, introduced by Postgate. A subscription identifies the copyist as Giovanni Campofregoso and gives the date 10 October 1421; Genoa is perhaps the place of origin, since the Campofregoso family was prominent there. Postgate held that L might derive from Petrarch's manuscript because it is bound with a copy of his *Epistulae metricae* in the same hand. Both parts, however, have independent early foliations, and the textual evidence, which suggests that this and the next manuscript derive from a single copy of Petrarch's codex, is more compelling. L has lost some gatherings and now begins at 2.21.3.

P was first cited by O.L. Richmond and its value conclusively established by Ferguson. This is the first manuscript to combine Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius in a single volume. The date on which the copying of these three authors was completed (20 November 1423[6]) is given in a note written very

small in the lower right corner at the end of Catullus. The other works copied by the original scribe (the pseudo-Ovidian *Epistle of Sappho*, excerpts from Petronius, including the only surviving copy of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, and the *Moretum*) were added later, while other additions were made by another scholar ca 1500. P was probably copied in Florence, since the *Cena* was discovered by Poggio in Cologne in 1423, and his copy disappeared while on loan to Niccoli. The outstanding feature of P is the freedom with which its scribe emended, sometimes well, sometimes wantonly. The conjectures incorporated during copying can safely be attributed to the scribe himself. He later corrected the text on two occasions, first from the manuscript sent by Poggio to Niccoli in Florence in summer 1427 (on which see chapter 3), later from an unexceptional text of wide circulation. He did not know Greek; a second hand (identified by de la Mare as the Dalmatian Giorgio Begna) transliterated and translated Greek words in the *Cena* and in a copy of the *Somnium Scipionis* with Macrobius' commentary that also has a few notes by the copyist of P (Vat lat 5135). That the scribe came from the Veneto is suggested by his script, by his friendship with Begna, and by the presence of notes in his hand in two manuscripts of the Vatican library that probably came from the library of Paolo Manuzio *giovane* (Vat lat 5135 and 5136). P may have been in Padua during the fifteenth century, but the only sure trace of its influence is found in Mons 218/109, a fundamentally close but somewhat interpolated descendant perhaps written in Padua by someone from beyond the Alps; P has been known to modern scholars since being found at Trogir in Yugoslavia in the seventeenth century.

The fourth close descendant of Petrarch's Propertius, not previously used by editors, is Venice Bibl Naz Marc Fondo antico 443 (1912), here called Z. This was copied in Padua in 1453 by a man tentatively identified by Dr de la Mare as Giovanni Marcanova. The text is a composite of two sources, the first (to the middle of Book 2) affiliated with Göttingen philol 111^{b} (on which see chapter 5), the second with Petrarch's copy; after a portion in which the two sources are combined, Z emerges as a useful descendant of Petrarch's manuscript from 2.29 to the end. There is nothing inherently improbable in the suggestion that a manuscript from the library of Petrarch, who died at Arquá, could have been available in nearby Padua; it does, however, require rejecting the identification of Petrarch's Propertius with the copy listed in the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library at Pavia.[7] The copyist of Z may even have been aware that he was copying Petrarch's Propertius; something - age, or the lure of an illustrious owner - must be invoked to explain why he

deserted a more correct for a more corrupt text. As a witness to Petrarch's manuscript, Z, like L, does not overlap the extant part of A.

Three manuscripts derive from the conflation of a descendant of Petrarch's Propertius with Panormita's copy Vat lat 3273 (on which see chapter 3): Hamburg Staatsbibliothek Scrin 139.4, Oxford Bodleian Library Add B 55 (dated 1451), and Brussels Bibl Royale 14638. These manuscripts and others related to them will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4; here the last (to be called b) will be used as perhaps the oldest and certainly the most faithful representative of the group.[8]

The last witness to be considered is the *antiquum manuscriptum* of Barb lat 34 (e).[9] This is a very incomplete collation of a manuscript, said to have been of paper, made by an anonymous scholar at some time after the publication of Passerat's edition of Propertius (1608).

As was observed earlier, the investigation of the affiliation of the descendants of A is complicated by the fragmentary nature of the evidence: of A itself only 1.1.1-2.1.63 survive; of L, 2.21.3 to the end; Z belongs unambiguously to this family only from 2.29 to the end; and only scattered readings are available from e. We may begin, therefore, by establishing the relationship of FPbe to each other and to A where A is extant; then, once the relationship of L and Z to FPbe has been determined, their relationship to A can be established by inference from the relationship of FPbe to A.

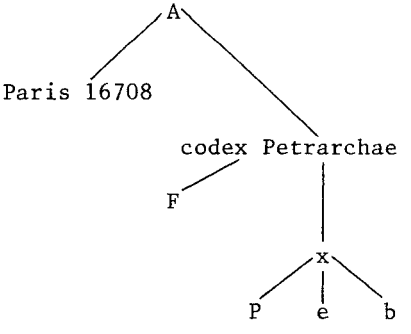
The following table lists agreements in error among AFPbe in 1.1-2, 11-13, 17, and 1.20.1-2.1.63:[10]

1.1.1 cepit) fecit AFPbe
7 toto F) totis Pbe
13 uulnere) arbore AFb: ab arbore Pe
18 meminit b) memini AFPe
22 palleat) placeat AFPb
31 remanete Pb) remanere AF
33 noctes AF) uoctes (?) P^{ac}: uoces be
36 assueto Pb) assuero AF
37 monitis AF) monitus $P^{ac}b$
2.1 uita b) uitta A: uicta F: uincta Pe
23 conquirere) a(c)quirere AFPb
amantes b) amittes A: amictes F: *a*m*a*n*t*es P^{ir}
24 ampla...forma) forma...ampla AFPb
26 culta) una AFPb
29 nec b) ne AFP
1.6.15 *om* $AlFP^{ac}$, *post u 18 habet* b
11.12 facilis b) facili AFP
12.4 ueneto FPb) uenero A

8 amare F) amore $AP^{ac}b$
9 fuimus Fb) sumus At^{pac}
quae b) quem AFP
10 diuidit b) diuitis AFP^{ac}
13.3 imitabor Pb) mutabor AF
5 fama b) forma AFP
7 perditus) queritis AFPb
quadam AF) quedam $P^{ac}b$
8 lapsus b) lapsis AFP
10 uices Pb) uoces $A^{ac}F$
11 haec) nec AFPb
compescet b) componet AFP
13 augure A) augere FPb
21 Enipeo b) en ipse AFP
31 *lac inter 'blan.' et 'her.' exhibent* AFP
32 amare b) amore AFP
17.3 Cassiope Ab) calliope FP^{ac}
19 meum b) deum $A^{ac}P$ ^{ac}, *om in lac* F
sepelissent) peperissent $A^{ac}Fl^{pac}$
20.3 occurrit) currit AFP: decurrit b
4 dixerit b) dixerat AFPe
6 Theiodamanteo) therodamanteo Nb: thedoramanteo $AFP^{ac}e$
13 frigida) turbida AF^{pc} (tribida F^{ac}), Pbe
17 ferunt olim AF) olim ferunt b: o. fuerunt P^{ac}: o. fuerat e
21 heroum Ab) hominum $FP^{ac}e$
22 tegit F) regit $AP^{ac}be$
29 ala Pb) ali AFe
31 Orithyiae) oriothie APb: oiothiae e: orionthie F
37 lilia Pb) ilia AF
43 flumina b) flumine AFPe
1.21.3 quid AF) qui $P^{ac}b$: quis e
6 tuis Pb) ruis AFle (tuis F2)
22.7 tu b) et AFP^{ac}
10 fertilis Pb) ferulis AF
2.1.19 Ossan b) tytan $AP^{ac}e$: thitan F
21 nec) non AFPb
33 auratis Pb) aurat AF
41 conueniunt b) preueniunt $A^{ac}FP^{ac}e$
53 Circaeo APb) cureo Fe
56 funera *bis* AF
60 Phillyrides b) phillíridos AFP^{ac}
61 et Pb) e AF
62 patriis FP) patruis Abe

Several conclusions can be drawn from this lengthy enumeration. First, as stated earlier, the progeny of A descend through an

intermediate copy. This is demonstrated by passages where at least F and P share errors not already found in A (1.13.13; 1.17.3; 1.20.21; 2.1.53 is quite probably another case, 'cureo' having been corrected by the scribe of P; and at 1.2.1 'uicta' F and 'uincta' Pe imply 'uicta,' not 'uitta,' in their common source). The same conclusion is suggested by the single passage in which a corruption of A is absent from all of its descendants (1.12.4: Petrarch certainly knew the Po); the chance that FPb (especially F) all emended independently may be dismissed as insignificant. We can also conclude that of FPb none derives from any of the others. Of course chronology precludes the derivation of F from either P or b. P cannot descend from F because it retains the reading of A in passages where it has been further corrupted or corrected in F (1.12.8; 1.12.9; 1.20.22; 1.20.31). Other errors suggest that Pbe form a subfamily deriving from a single apograph of the Petrarchan codex which cannot be identified with any extant manuscript (1.1.7; 1.1.37; 1.2.1; 1.13.7 'quedam'; 1.21.3). The most useful such error occurs at 1.20.17, where an original transposition of 'ferunt olim' lies behind or remains the reading of all three; the further interpolation of e ('fuerat') eliminates the possibility that P or b derives from it. But neither can b or e derive from P, for one or both of them preserves the reading of A in passages where it has been corrected in P (1.20.29; 2.1.62). One may therefore propose the following tentative stemma for the descendants of A so far discussed (possible contamination from other manuscripts has not been shown):



Before continuing with the second part of the argument, it will be useful to examine the manner in which the scribes of F and P carried out their task, so far as this can be determined when only the exemplar of their source, and not the source itself, survives. This will help us intelligently to evaluate their testimony from 2.1.64 to 2.21.2, where the witnesses to Petrarch's Propertius are very limited.

The unique errors of F1 provide abundant support for Housman's statement that F was copied by 'a most ignorant man':[11]

1.1.9 deductae) deducto
30 ulla ... femina) nulla ... semina
35 uitate) uitare
2.3 quid) quod
8 nudus) nullus
12 currere) curre
11.4 miscenis A) misteriis
6 restat) monstrat
9 remis) temis
11 teneat) terreat
30 Baiae crimen) baia crimina
12.3 diuisa est) deisa
8 contigit) contingit
19 mi neque) minimeque
13.9 illarum) illaris
12 amicus) cunicus
13 ego *om*
30 Ledae) leu
31 Inachiis ... heroinis) in hachiis ... erohinis
33 quoniam) quem

The wearying list could easily be extended. In all of these cases APb have the correct reading, and we must presume that Petrarch's manuscript did as well. The search for copyist's errors in P is complicated by frequent corrections *in rasura* that obscure the original text, but such corrections do at least call attention to places where there could once have been an error:

1.1.8 aduersos) aduersos P^{ir}
9 Milanion) minalion O: menalion P
26 *pectoris* P^{ir} (*fort* corporis P^{ac})
1.2.27 donet) dener P^{ac}
32 tibi) mihi P^{ac}
12.8 fide) fides P^{ac}
13.16 Galle) mane (?) P^{ac}
17 deponere) aponere P^{ac}

Some of these were perhaps not errors but interpolations of which the copyist later repented; even so, he committed no more than eight errors in the same portion of text in which the scribe of F made at least three times that number. Instead, P corrected extensively by conjecture. The tabulation of its deviations from A(F) that could be considered conscious

interpolations in 1.1-2 and 11-13 stands as follows (an asterisk indicates alteration to a correct reading, whether preserved in other manuscripts or not):

*1.1.29	forte ... ferre A) ferte ... ferte
* 31	remanere AF) remanete
2.13	persuadent O) collucent P^{vl}
20	auecta O) aduecta
* 11.6	et quis O) ecquis
7	ignibus O) uocibus P^{t}
* 15	amota O) amoto
12.10	Prometheus A) promethei P^{ac}
19	mi ... neque O) me ... nec
* 13.3	mutabor AF) imitabor
* 10	uoces AF) uices
24	metheis AF) in ethereis

In no case is the conjecture so difficult that we must suppose that another copy was used. At the same time P was faithful enough to retain such a minor detail of its source as the lacuna found in A at 1.13.31. F also seems to have introduced some corrections while copying (1.12.8 in the list above, p 42), but these may be the result of accident rather than intelligent understanding; the laws of chance dictate that a copyist as inaccurate as the scribe of F will occasionally stumble upon the truth while otherwise wreaking havoc. Despite its inaccuracy F has still preserved significantly more of the errors of A than any other descendant of Petrarch's copy in this part of the text (1.1.31; 1.13.3; 1.20.37; etc). Thus F and P are manuscripts notable above all for infidelity to their ememplars, F because it so greatly multiplies the frequency of error, P because it so reduces it. The usefulness of the florilegium and of e is limited by the scarcity of readings available, that of b by the amount of correction it has undergone (although it still makes significant contributions). The agreement in error of F with e or b against a correct reading in P will give the reading of Petrarch's copy. If F and P offer different corruptions and b has been corrected, then the reading of P is perhaps more likely to have been in Petrarch's manuscript; if only F is corrupt, then the degree of correction in P forces us to allow that F might have preserved the reading of the common source. The agreement of Paris 16708 with any of the other witnesses offers the only hope of certainty that the error was already present in A and not introduced by Petrarch's copy.

There is no simple mechanical method to establish the text of Petrarch's Propertius in the difficult stretch from 2.1.64 to 2.21.2. Two examples will illustrate both the problems

involved and the assistance sometimes forthcoming from b and e. For 'promite' at 2.9.38 N gives 'promitte,' F 'pincte'; P has rewritten part of the line, concealing whatever troubled him in his exemplar ('sed puer hic promit acuta magis'). The origin of the readings of FP is revealed by b, which gives 'prompte'; this is an orthographical variant of 'promte,' which will have appeared in Petrarch's copy abbreviated 'ꝑmte.' A may well have offered the correct 'promite.' Unfortunately no such neat solution is possible in the second passage. At 2.13.17 no edition except Giardina's reports that P reads not 'nostros mors' but 'mors nostros.' Other examples of the A tradition preserving this rhythm (where the fourth foot is a spondee consisting of a single word) while it has been altered in N will be discussed in chapter 3; there seem to be no other examples in which it has been changed in all copies except for one descendant of Petrarch's manuscript. Certainly the weight that 'mors nostros' imparts to the line is very appealing; if not a conjecture of the scribe of P, this could be an instance of P alone preserving a correct reading altered in the rest of the tradition.

From 2.21.3 to the end we find that the essential relationship of FPbe remains the same, except that b has been increasingly corrected from Vat lat 3273 and its significant agreements with the A tradition cease completely in Book 3. The affiliation of L and Z is demonstrated by their agreement with FP(be) in an imposing number of errors, among them the following:

2.24.32 uobis) nobis F1LPZ1b
25.22 credule) credula FLPZb
43 prodire) prodente FLPZ
26.9 quae) quem FLPZ
41 desit) spectat F1LP^{t}Zb
28.21 deuota) monstrata FLP^{t}Z^{t}e
35 carmine) imagine FLPZ1e
40 caerula) gar(r)ula FLPZbe
29.27 narratum) narrabat FLPZ
30.39 capiti) campi FLPZb
31.10 carius) clarior FLP^{t}Z1
34.25 seros) sacros F1LPZ1
48 laqueis) lacrimis F1LP^{ac}Z1
3.1.5 tenuastis) tenuistis FLPZ
2.13 comites) comitis N: comiti F1LPZ
3.47 coronatos) coronatas F1LPZ1
5.12 nectimus arma) querimus ora F1LP^{ac}Z1
11.61 Curtius) durius F1LP^{ac}Z
13.60 Icarioti *Calderini*) icariote N: ycariore F1LP^{ac}Z
4.1.8 bubus) tutus F1LP^{ac}Z

24 exta litabat) excalitabat FLP^{ac}Z
111 Agamemnoniae) agamenon F2 (-no F1), LPZ
6.67 hinc traxit) intraxit FLPZ
7.74 Parthenie) phatenie FLPZ
8.26 pudenda) putenda FLPZ
32 potae) poti FLPZ
11.43 tantis) stantis F1LP^{ac}Z
54 carbasus) carbasis F1LP^{ac}Z
68 unum *om* F1LP^{ac}Z

An equally long list can be assembled of passages where the manuscripts disagree but clearly derive from the same source:

2.26.9 quae cum) quem tum FPZ: quantum L
36 uelaque in incertum) uelaque incertum FZ: uela quod incertum LP
30.30 uolarit) uolaret FP^{ac}Z1: uolares L
34.4 formosam) formam P: formaui L: et formam FZ
12 posses in) posses et in LPZ: posset et in F
43 torno) t'no F1L: terno P^{ac}: turno Z1
59 hesternis) externis F1: eternis LP: eternum Z
3.3.11 Lares F *recte*) lacres LPZ: lacies N
5.41 Furiae) furte FLPb: furce Z
44 Tityo) tinto F1: titon F2Z1: tyto L
11.14 Maeotis) iniectis F1Z: neiectis (?) P^{ac}: nectis L
35 tres) res L: rex Z: re P: hec F1
13.43 uenaberis) ueneraberis F1LP^{pc}Z: uenerabilis P^{ac}
22.27 labuntur) lambuntur LZb: lanibuntur F1
4.1.32 albos) allos FLZ: alios P
2.34 fautor *Rossberg*) fauor N: faunor LP^{ac}Z: fauuor F1
6.45 nimium) numen LPZ: lumen F1
67 Actius) haccius F1Z: hec actius L: accius P^{ac}
7.80 contortis) contoris LPZ: cantoris F1
9.27 uittae) uitre F1LZ: iute P
11.43 non) ton F1LP^{ac}: con Z
exuuiis) exuuii LP^{ac}Z: eximii F1
97 numquam) nūquam nūquam F1L: nūquam unquam P^{ac}: nuquam nuquam Z

Several conclusions can be drawn. The carelessness of the scribe of F continued unabated. L is generally a faithful representative of the family but shows a certain measure of sometimes amateurish interpolation (cf 2.34.4, 3.11.14); these show that Z cannot derive from it, just as 3.11.35, 3.13.43, and 3.22.27 show that Z cannot derive from P (it also avoids the distinctive errors of F). As before, P emends frequently. More significant, there are signs of emendation in F of a kind that cannot be attributed to chance or to an

uncomprehending scribe (2.34.4; 2.34.12; 3.3.11; 3.11.14; 3.11.35). In the first of these passages only P has preserved the corruption of 'formosam' that must have been present in Petrarch's copy, 'formam': L has 'formaui,' which is inappropriate but scans, F and Z a more sophisticated interpolation 'et formam.' At 3.3.11 one might argue that Petrarch's copy had 'lares,' corrupted to 'lacres' in LPZ, if N did not read 'lacies': the archetype must have read 'lacres' (deriving from 'lacẽs'), and the reading of F is probably due to correction and not to accident. The most damning case is perhaps the last. Petrarch's copy had the easy corruption 'res' for 'tres,' retained only by L; 're' in P and 'rex' in Z are simple modifications of this, but 'hec' in F (modifying 'harena') is a more radical interpolation. The likely source of such conjectures is not the scribe but the owner of his exemplar, Petrarch. (Ullman suggested in 1911 that emendations of Petrarch were to be found in F, but in estimating the number of errors of F that were already present in A he was far too kind to the scribe of F and had to assume a very high degree of correction on the part of the poet.) The fact that the scribe had already incorporated these conjectures eliminated the need for della Seta to record them in the margins when he corrected F from the exemplar. The presence of such conjectures in F is obviously of the highest importance in determining the relationship of LPZbe.

The closeness of b and e to P has already been demonstrated. It appears, however, that b(e) are still closer to L than to P:

2.27.3-4 *inuerso ordine* $L^{ac}b$
28.19 Ino) iuno Lbe
51 uobiscum [candida]) nobiscum Lbe
29.3 pueri) puri $L^{ac}b$
34.4 formosam) formaui Lb
19 nil) uille Lb
3.1.11 curru) currum Lb
33 memorator) memoratur Lb
3.4 posse) posce Lb

The corrections from Vat lat 3273 found in b are also present in its siblings and therefore must have been present already in their common source; hence that source cannot have been the source of L, but L could be the source of the Petrarchan readings of b(e). Of the seventeen readings of e reported where L is extant, all but one (2.28.53 'quot [Achaia] quos') are found in L.

Before continuing, it is necessary to consider whether, as first suggested by Postgate and later argued by La Penna,[12]

L and P have been affected by contamination from N. It has already been suggested in the introductory remarks that the corrections incorporated by the scribe of P do not come from another manuscript but are his own; this is surely true of the few interpolations in L as well. According to La Penna, however, the intermediate source of L and P (which will be considered a little later) has taken a number of correct readings from N or its family. Out of a number cited, five readings especially are supposed to prove this, particularly the first two:

2.26.15 ob inuidiam NLP) prae inuidia FDVVo
34.43 includere NLPVo) componere FDV
3.22.13 Argoa NLPVo) argea F1DV1
4.3.55 Graucidos NLPVo) grancidos F1DV
5.52 saluere NLP) saliere FDV

(La Penna's manuscript references have been retained because of their relevance to the argument.) It will be argued in chapter 5 that DVVo derive from a manuscript that drew upon two sources, one of them Z, and that readings from F later entered this copy through contamination. The readings of F were already present in the source of DVVo at 2.26.15 and 4.5.52; the others were presumably introduced by collation, but the last three are too trivial to be of consequence in any case. On 225 he gives other examples in which an incorrect reading of N has been adopted only by L. Despite his statement to the contrary, those offered in his first list (3.5.42-3 'non' to 4.3.71 'capinae') are all orthographical in nature and prove nothing except that Giovanni Campofregoso and the scribes of N had similar notions about spelling Latin. Only slightly more difficult to eliminate is the case of which La Penna says that 'non si puó dubitare' that L has taken a good reading from N: 2.22.16 'ceditur' NLP^{vl}Z: 'queritur' F1D1: 'frangitur' P^{t}. According to La Penna the source of FLPDVVo had 'queritur.' That P made so radical a conjecture should alert us to the presence of something unintelligible in his exemplar. Perhaps it was the reading of NLZ, which appears also as a variant in P; a copyist who failed to realize that this was to be derived not from 'cedo' but from 'caedo' would certainly have regarded the text as corrupt and tried to emend. 'Queritur' in F could be a scribal error or a recollection of 'quaeritur' in 2.21.17, nineteen lines earlier; it entered D by contamination from F.

Z seems to agree with LP against F as often as it agrees with F against LP, but it never agrees with the unique errors of any of them. The following are some of its agreements with LP against F:

2.32.33 Martis F *recte*) uixit LPZ
33.29 iugulate) uigilate LPZ: iugulare F1
31 tuque o Eurytion) tu quoque e. LPZ: tu quod e. F2 (tu e. *sic* F1)
37 praependent F *recte*) perpendent $LP^{ac}Z$
3.5.33 Perrhaebi) perihebi LPZ: per herebi F1
4.1.140 eludit F *recte*) et ludit $LP^{ac}Z$
150 time F *recte*) caue LPZ
4.2.7 et F *recte*) ut LPZ
50 uicus F *recte*) uitiis LPZ
6.46 principe F *recte*) incipe LPZ
7.37 arcanas F *recte*) arcana LPZ
8.3 Lanuuium annosi *om* F1 *in lac* ('non potuit legi in exemplari hoc quod deficit' F2): laminium a. LPZ
56 nec) ne LPZ: non F
9.57 Pallada F *recte*) pal(l)ia LPZ
11.92 duxerit F *recte*) dixerit LPZ

This list, perhaps impressive at first sight, becomes somewhat less so when we recall the inaccuracy of F and the presence of glosses and conjectures in Petrarch's codex. In 2.33.29 'uigilate,' which is closer to the correct 'iugulate,' was probably in Petrarch's copy; the correct distribution of the minims that we see in F could easily be the result of accident. At 2.33.31 the *o* was probably omitted before correction; its addition resulted in what could be read as the compendium for 'quoque' (q9). Clearly F1 was confused by what he found; the 'quod' of F2 could be either a misreading of the same configuration that led to 'quoque' or an attempt to deal with the metrical 'problem' of *-que o eu-* (in the former case it will have originated with Lombardo, in the latter with Lombardo or perhaps Petrarch). The omission by F of *Lanuuium annosi* in 4.8.3 is probably due to the plethora of minims (F also omitted 'munus' in 3.13.27) and to the unfamiliar place name; 'laminium' in LPZ is not likely to derive from interpolation, since the rest of the tradition correctly gives 'Lanuuium' (it could however have been corrupted in some intermediate source). In some cases the corruption in LPZ could have been made independently more than once (and it must be remembered that L and P probably share a common source) or, if found in Petrarch's copy, could easily have been corrected, if only by accident (eg 4.2.7; 4.11.92). Others, less likely to have occurred independently, could well have been corrected conjecturally by Petrarch since they are unmetrical or senseless (2.33.37; 4.1.140; 4.2.50; 4.6.46; 4.7.37). 'Per herebi' in F at 3.5.33 is either a slip or an interpolation by the scribe to create a familiar name from an unfamiliar one ('perihebi'

must have been in Petrarch's copy). At 4.8.56 'ne' in LPZ is a corruption of the correct 'nec,' altered in F (after Petrarch?) to 'non' because an indicative verb follows ('fuit'). The correction of 'pallia' to 'Pallada' would be more difficult (in Latin literature Juno, not Athena, blinded Tiresias), but 'posita Gorgone' in the next line would have been more than sufficient to point a scholar in the right direction. Two other examples are glosses (2.32.33; 4.1.150) that could have been incorporated independently on more than one occasion; it is also possible that they were not yet present in Petrarch's copy when F was copied and added by another owner.

In the following passages Z agrees with F against LP:

2.25.42 ducit) dulcis FZ: lucus L: lucet P
26.15 ob inuidiam NLP) prae inuidia FZ
2.26.39 ratis) rudis F2P^{vl}Z
28.9 peraeque) paremque F1Z
29.35 presso) pressa FZ1
30.19 non tamen immerito N: nunc tu dura paras LPZ^{pc}: nunc dura paras F1Z^{ac}
34.4 formosam) et formam FZ: formam P: formaui L
30 uester) noster FZ
42 choros) thoros FZ
58 quo) quod FZ
3.11.14 Maeotis) iniectis FZ: neiectis P^{ac}: nectis L
4.1.10 fratrum) frater FZ
6.69 poscit) possit F1Z^{ac}

Many of these could be coincidental or could have been corrected in the common source of LP (2.29.35 influenced by the preceding 'uestigia'; 2.34.30 and 42; 4.1.10; 4.6.69). Several are agreements in obvious interpolations. 'Dulcis' in 2.25.42 is an example, for L and P suggest that Petrarch's copy had 'lucit' (perhaps written 'luc̄'), an easy corruption of the correct 'ducit.' 'Et formam' is a transparent attempt to correct the damage done to the metre by the original corruption of 'formosam' to 'formam' (guaranteed again by the readings of L and P). A more sophisticated interpolation occurs at 3.11.14. The exemplar probably read 'niectis,' a corruption of 'meotis,' which is a medieval spelling of Maeotis (found in fact in N); P before correction gives a further slight corruption ('neiectis'), L an unmetrical and senseless ad hoc alteration that at least can be recognized as a Latin word ('nectis'), while FZ show a more clever but equally false conjecture ('iniectis,' to modify 'sagittis' in 13). 'Rudis' in Z, P (as a variant reading), and F2 (the last guarantees that the reading originated in the annotations of Petrarch) derives from a comparison of 3.22.13 'qua rudis Argoa'; its appearance

in P is arguably independent of its appearance in F and Z, since the scribe of P recorded several parallel passages in his copy. As with certain interpolations of F alone noted above, the most likely source of these interpolations common to F and Z is Petrarch himself. Since these conjectures have left no trace in LP, and since Z avoids the unique errors of F, it may be concluded that Z derives directly from Petrarch's copy independently of the other three. One might otherwise explain the agreements of Z with FLP by arguing that LPZ derive from a single copy of Petrarch's Propertius and that certain readings of F (particularly interpolations) have entered Z by contamination, but there is at least one telling piece of evidence against this. In 2.26.36 Petrarch's copy must have omitted 'in'; FZ retain the resulting unmetrical 'uelaque incertum,' while LP share the *ad hoc* correction 'uela quod incertum.' It does not seem likely that the scribe of Z would import an obviously more corrupt version. Z is not free of interpolations:

2.33.16 est *in fine uersus additum*
34.59 hesternis) eternum Z: externis Fl: eternis LP
4.8.80 ueneat) uenerit Z
11.38 tunsa) tonsa Z

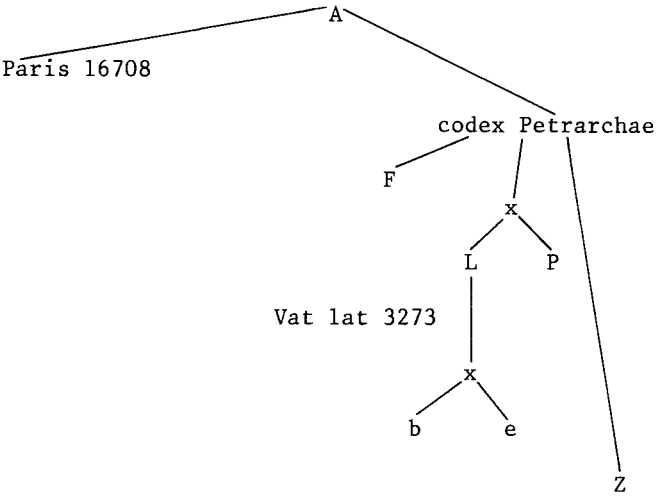
Those at 2.33.16 and 4.8.80 occur in P as well, but it is unnecessary to suppose that such obvious alterations could not have been made independently; on the other hand, it will be argued in chapter 5 that P may have influenced the recension to which the first part of Z belongs, thus providing another possible channel for them.

Now that the presence of conjectures and corrections of Petrarch in F and Z has been established, it remains to consider whether the apparent conjunctive errors of LP are true conjunctive errors or residual errors of Petrarch's copy corrected in FZ:

2.24.27 libens) bibens LP
30 timidis) tumidis LP
29.10 nodus) nudus LP
30.3 uecteris) necteris LP
32.48 hic) hec LP
33.27 meracas) meratas LP
34.4 raro) rato LP
15 nil) uille L: uile P
19 licebit) libebit LP
3.3.22 cumba) turba LP
4.1.37 patrium) patruum LP^{ac}
2.63 qui) quod LP
11.52 gaudia O) Claudia $L^{vl}P$ *recte*

None of these, if present in Petrarch's copy, is so corrupt that it could not have been corrected, but one may ask whether some of them (eg 2.24.27 and 30; 2.34.19) are likely to have been suspected of being corrupt. If the identification of L as the source of the Petrarchan readings of b is accepted, and if we reason back to the demonstration of conjunctive errors in Pbe, then the hypothesis that LP share such errors seems certain. They probably share interpolations as well, introduced by their common source: 2.26.36, discussed earlier, seems an example of this, and 4.11.52 in the enumeration just concluded may be another (although the correction could have been made in L and P independently). If LP do share errors, then some could have been inherited from Petrarch's copy and corrected in F and Z; thus the editor cannot afford to ignore the agreements of LP against FZ. Given the degree of emendation that has occurred in P, it is possible that sometimes L alone has preserved the reading of Petrarch's manuscript. The case of 2.34.4, where Lb agree in the interpolation 'formaui' and P gives the corruption 'formam' that must have been present in the source of LP and in Petrarch's copy, suggests that the Petrarchan source of b was not the exemplar of LP but L itself.[13]

This survey of AFLPZbe may be summarized as follows. A is the source of the other manuscripts named, which descend from it not directly but through a copy that belonged to and was annotated and corrected by Petrarch. F, copied directly from this manuscript about 1380, reproduces the greatest number of these notes and conjectures, some incorporated into the text by the scribe, some inscribed in the margins by Lombardo della Seta; this is not surprising, since we know from his correspondence that Coluccio Salutati, who commissioned F, wanted explicitly a copy of Petrarch's Propertius, and so is likely to have wanted the notes as well as the text. F however was copied very carelessly and is the most corrupt of these manuscripts. Z also derives directly from Petrarch's copy from about 2.29 to the end; it contains slightly fewer of his conjectures than F and is a little affected by the scribe's own conjectures. L (and hence b) and P derive from some lost copy of Petrarch's manuscript; this could conceivably have been one made for Gaspare de Broaspini, to whom in 1375 Salutati addressed his first request for Petrarch's Propertius or a copy of it. This lost copy apparently ignored Petrarch's conjectures. From a conflation of L and Vat lat 3273 descend b and e, which are sometimes valuable in establishing the text of Petrarch's copy between 2.1.63 and 2.21.3, where only F and P are direct witnesses. L is a most valuable witness, being the least corrected member of this group, while P is almost more valuable as a source of conjectures than as a witness to its tradition. The relationship of AFLPZbe may be represented stemmatically as follows:



ADDENDUM: CLOSE DESCENDANTS OF F

The influence of F in the fifteenth-century tradition is considerable. One member of a class of manuscripts derived in part from it was printed in 1472 as the de Spira edition, from which derive all the incunabula except the *editio princeps* (cf chapters 7 and 9). While many humanistic codices - perhaps even a majority - show some influence from F, only eight are close enough textually to merit discussion as descendants, and of these only one is a pure representative of its text. During its years in Salutati's possession (1380-1406), F appears to have stirred little interest in Florence outside the owner's immediate circle; it was never copied before correction by Salutati or after correction by the hand identified as F4 and perhaps only once between.[14]

Florence Bibl Laur San Marco 690 holds a pre-eminent place among these descendants. The codex was subsequently erased, then rewritten with Greek patristic texts; these do not occupy the entire manuscript, so that the original text is sometimes legible from 4.2.24 to the end, particularly on the last few folios, which were less thoroughly erased. The close relationship of F and S Marco 690 has long been known; Hosius[15] assembled a list of agreements, to which may be added the marginal note 'mappa mundi' (4.3.37), which originated with Petrarch, and the omission of 4.11.30, which is unique to F. Stadter and Ullman suspected that S Marco 690 had belonged to Niccoli without knowing that a fragment of the note of donation still appears on the flyleaf.[16] It has not hitherto been

observed that its scribe is Poggio Bracciolini, and that it belongs to a series that he copied for Niccoli about 1400-5;[17] as a copy made by Poggio for Niccoli of Salutati's copy of Petrarch's Propertius it has a most impressive pedigree. Poggio probably incorporated most or all of Salutati's corrections but not those of F4; had it not been erased, S Marco 690 would be a valuable tool for distinguishing these two phases of correction in passages where alteration was effected by means of dots, strokes, or erasures. Fortunately the identification of the strain of text used by F4 renders this a procedure of academic interest only, reserved for those curious about the most intimate details of Salutati's work as corrector.

Vat lat 1611, a Roman manuscript of ca 1470, will be discussed in chapter 4 for its affiliation with other Roman manuscripts of the same period; that F is one of its sources was noted by Ferguson.[18] The agreements she cited demonstrate this without exhausting the supply. Vat lat 1611 might derive from F independently of the other six manuscripts to be discussed here; certain agreements with some of those six, particularly Magl VII 1164, are probably due to accident or to contamination. Errors of F found only in Vat lat 1611 include:

1.1.29 ferte [per ex.]) forte AF, 1611
13.31 heroinis) erohinis F: erochinis 1611
2.1.53 Circaeo) cureo
63 iuuenis) uiuens AF1, 1611
75 uia *om*

At 1.17.19 Vat lat 1611 presents the reading of F1 ('meum' omitted in a lacuna, with 'peperissent' for 'sepelissent') rather than Salutati's conjecture 'meum rupissent.' This does not establish that it derives from F before correction by F3, since in other passages (such as 1.1.31) it does reproduce the conjectures of Salutati; presumably 'rupissent' was ignored on its own merits.

Six other manuscripts apparently derive from a single copy of F into which variants and corrections may already have been introduced. Perhaps the earliest is the text of 1.1.1-2.18.22 contained in Florence Bibl Naz II.IX.125, a miscellaneous collection including a number of incomplete classical texts copied in the same unattractive notarial hand. Florence Bibl Laur pl.33,14 is, according to Dr de la Mare, a Florentine manuscript of about 1450-60; it is signed by Antonio Giuliani. Florence Bibl Naz Magl VII 1164 is also Florentine, dated by Dr de la Mare to about 1460. The three copies so far named form a distinct subgroup among the six. Among the other close descendants is London Brit Libr Harley 2550; the text from 2.31.3 to the end, still derived from F but more corrected,

is in a second hand. The evidence of the watermarks suggests that this, too, may be a Florentine manuscript of ca 1460. Naples Bibl Naz IV.F.20 is also an unmistakably Florentine codex of the third quarter of the century. The name of its copyist, though erased, was still legible to earlier scholars; its relationship to F has long been known.[19] The last, Naples Bibl Oratoriana dei Gerolamini M.C.F. 3-15, was written in Florence in 1484 by Antonio Sinibaldi. Four of these six codices are of securely Florentine origin, and a fifth, Florence Bibl Naz II.IX.125, is arguably Florentine, since the miscellaneous collection in which it is found also contains a fascicle written by Niccoli.[20]

That all six derive from a single copy of F is demonstrable not by their agreement in corrections (many errors of F are found in none of its extant descendants, though it should be remembered that most of S Marco 690 is illegible), but by the agreement of five of them in an error not found in F (the omission of 'ut' in 1.21.5); the adherence of the sixth is guaranteed by other readings. That single copy could have been S Marco 690; this appends to the text Ovid *Rem* 763-4 and Propertius 1.7.24, while Laur pl.33,14, Naples IV.F.20, and M.C.F. 3-15 also include the lines of Ovid. The intermediate source was very close to F; its descendants have individually corrected many of its errors.

The majority of these six copies reproduce a number of the errors of F, unique to it or derived from A:

1.1.1 cepit) fecit AF (not 33,14)
2.8 nudus) nullus (not VII 1164; 3-15; 2550)
24 ampla ... forma) forma ... ampla AF (not VII 1164)
11.4 Misenis) misteriis (not VII 1164; 33,14)
6 restat) monstrat (not VII 1164; 3-15; 2550)
9 remis) temis F: themis II.IX.125; 33,14; IV.F.20
30 Baiae) baia (not VII 1164; 3-15; 33,14)
12.19 mi) me F2 (not VII 1164; 3-15; 33,14)
20.8 tinxerit) traxerit (not 3-15)
37 lilia) ilia AF (not II.IX.125; VII 1164; 33,14)
45 ut) in F (not VII 1164; 3-15)
2.1.39 Phlegraeos) flegieos F: flegeos *cett* (not 3-15)
46 conterat) concreat F (not VII 1164; 3-15; 2550)

This list could easily be extended. The independence of Harley 2550, Naples IV.F.20, and M.C.F. 3-15 is apparent in passages where only one or two of them has preserved the error of F:

1.11.11 teneat) terreat IV.F.20
12.3 diuisa est) deisa 2550
10 diuidit) diuitis AF1, 3-15: diuitiis 2550

13.12 amicus) cunicus (*sic*) Fl: unitus IV.F.20
30 partu) partu ut IV.F.20
32 tu uero quoniam semel es periturus amore) tu u. quem s. es p.a. F: tu u. quem s. es iusto p. a. IV.F.20
20.16 Ascanio) asonio Fl: ausonio 2550
17 Pagasae) pegase O: peragasse Fl: peragrasse IV.F. 20; 2550

Suggestive evidence for the identity of the intermediate source comes from Naples IV.F.20. At 4.8.3 the scribe of F was deterred by a long succession of minims and omitted 'Lanuuium annosi' in a lacuna; F2 added the note 'non potuit legi in exemplari hoc quod deficit.' In S Marco 690 the lacuna was retained but the note recast as 'non potuit legi exemplar.' Naples IV.F.20 gives the line as 'non potuit legi uetus est tutela draconis,' an adequate hexameter except for the incorrect quantity in 'legi.' Arguably the note as it stands in S Marco 690 is more likely to have led to the situation in Naples IV.F.20; it may have been understood to mean that the exemplar read 'non potuit legi.' The other three manuscripts (II.IX.125; Laur 33,14; Magl VII 1164) descend from a single copy of this intermediate source not identifiable with any extant copy, as is shown by their agreement in fresh errors:

1.1.9 Milanion) minalion O: mimaleon II.IX.125; 33,14: migmaleon VII 1164
21 agedum) agedum et II.IX.125; 33,14: agite et VII 1164
35 quemque) queque
2.17 Idae) ida O: ita
20.47 prolapsum) prelapsum
22.3 tibi) tibi et
2.1.39 Enceladique) enceladisque
47 uno) una
48 o *om*
57 dolores) furores

Within this triad II.IX.125 and Laur 33,14 seem especially close:

1.11.23 domus) domos
1.12.9 quae) quem F: quam
13.11 compescet) componet AF: componis
20.16-21 *om*
23 processerat) precesserat
29 secluditur) subducitur
39 decerpens) decerptis 33,14: decertis II.IX.125
2.1.44 enumerat) et numerat

It is possible, however, that these are simply errors of the common source of all three that have been corrected in Magl VII 1164, which has clearly undergone some correction and interpolation; 1.1.9 'certe' for 'nullos,' for instance, must be due to conjecture. Harley 2550 was corrected by several hands, one of which seems to have used Magl VII 1164 or a related codex; both agree, for instance, in the following:

1.11.10 moretur) moueret
25 amicis) amoris
20.24 quaerere) ponere
25 hunc) nunc
45 ut) et

If any copies of F other than S Marco 690 were made in Florence before 1406, they have perished. All the other close descendants of F, with the possible exception of Vat lat 1611, derive from a single copy of F which may have been S Marco 690: nearly all those descendants are demonstrably Florentine, and Niccoli's copy will have been readily available in the San Marco Library. Of the career of F in the fifteenth century we know only that it belonged to Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici. It contains his ex-libris, though it does not appear in the 1418 inventory of his library;[21] presumably it remained with the family after his death. The Medici willingly shared their books with scholars, yet there is only one uncertain echo of the direct influence of F in the later fifteenth century.[22] It might have been neglected because of its Gothic script; the dismal quality of its text in comparison with the descendants of Vat lat 3273 that circulated widely after the 1430s would have provided a still more potent motive to ignore it.

NOTES

1 *CR* 9 (1895) 463
2 *CR* 17 (1903) 184
3 Even in the most recent, those of L. Richardson Jr, G.C. Giardina (Book 2 only), and R. Hanslik.
4 P. Damon 'A Second Propertius Florilegium' *CP* 48 (1953) 96-7. The extracts, which appear on ff 24v-26, comprise the following lines: 1.1.17-18, 25-6, 33-6; 1.2.1, 4-5, 7-8, 29-30; 1.7.26; 1.8.29, 39-40; 1.9.7-8; 1.12.15-16; 1.17.13-14; 1.18.7-8; 2.1.43-4, 47, 57-8; 2.3.5-8; 2.8.11-12; 2.9.7-8, 31-2; 2.15.1-2, 23, 54; 2.18.1-2; 2.21.15; 2.23. 23-4; 2.26.27-8; 2.27.11-12; 2.30.1-2, 7; 2.32.55-6; 2.33.33; 2.34.3; 3.8.19; 3.13.49-50; 3.17.1-5, 9, 11-14, 17-20; 3.18.27; 4.3.49; 4.11.93. For some reason Damon failed to

report all the excerpted lines. The frequent agreement in selection with Reg lat 2120 (cf chapter 1, note 20) is probably coincidental; so is their agreement in 'habet' for 'amat' in 2.1.58, which also occurs in a group of fifteenth-century manuscripts (to be discussed in chapter 4) that derives from a conflation of L and Vat lat 3273.

5 For a demonstration of the Petrarchan origin of the note 'Romanum se ostendit Propertius' (4.1.64) cf G. Martellotti 'Precisazioni intorno alla decima Egloga del Petrarca' *IMU* 15 (1972) 332-45 (esp 334-41).

6 It was the custom of this scholar to conclude each book and author with an enumeration of the poems and lines it contained; thus after Propertius we find the 'Summa huius libri' (twelve 'epistole,' 952 lines) and the 'Summa tocius operis' (eighty-six 'epistole,' 4010 lines), all of it rubricated. At the end of Catullus, however, who concludes the sequence of the three major authors, only 'Versus lxxvi' (the number of lines in what the early tradition knew as the last poem) is rubricated. The note under discussion has after the date the summation of poems and lines in the entire text; presumably the scribe intended to write the entire content of this note in red after Catullus, but for some reason never did.

7 Suggested by Ullman 286; it will be proposed in chapter 4 that L was the Visconti Propertius.

8 According to Dr de la Mare, the Hamburg codex was copied in Ferrara about 1460-70; the Bodley copy was made in Milan; de la Mare dates the Brussels manuscript to ca 1450-60: its first owner, Gian Matteo Bottigella, was a close adviser and in-law of the Visconti. The Hamburg and Brussels manuscripts have been discussed by Richmond, Ferguson, and La Penna, who assign them different places in the stemma.

9 The only serious discussion is Ferguson's (6-21); she assigned it the siglum E. Her suggestion that 'the *antiquum manuscriptum* might even be the exemplar of L' (21), is, however, too hopeful.

10 Some discrepancies will be noticed between the readings reported here and the apparatus of the major editions. The most serious of these is 1.13.13, where the reading of A, 'auge' (ie 'augure,' confirmed by numerous examples, even on the same folio, of '2' used for the omission of *r* or *ur*), seems to have been misread by nearly everyone, including the copyist of Petrarch's manuscript. The scribe's suspension for *er* is illustrated by 'houm' 1.20.21, which was also copied incorrectly in Petrarch's Propertius ('hominum' would have been abbreviated 'hoĩum').

11 *JP* 21 (1893) 181

12 Postgate 35; La Penna II 5-36 (with stemma 28)
13 Other evidence for positing a common exemplar for L and P different from Petrarch's copy comes from the controversial passage 2.30.19 (to be discussed in more detail in chapter 3), where they may share an interpolated *tu*. Note also 4.6.67, where Petrarch's copy seems to have had 'Actius' in the spelling 'haccius.' P before correction to 'actius' had 'accius,' while L has 'hec actius'; the surprising 'hec' (ie, 'haec') in L and the reading of P could be explained by assuming that both copied from an exemplar in which 'haccius' has been corrected by deletion of the *h* with a stroke, thus: 'ħaccius,' so that the *h* could be mistaken as the abbreviation for 'haec.'
14 With few exceptions the readings discussed in this section will be taken from the portion of the text where the unique errors of F can be isolated with the greatest certainty, 1.1.1-2.1.63 (where A is extant).
15 *Propertius* ed C. Hosius (Leipzig 1933) vi-vii
16 P. Stadter and B.L. Ullman *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua 1972) 87 and 234. The surviving letters of the note are 'edi,' no doubt a fragment of 'hereditate' (for the usual form of these notes see Stadter and Ullman plate I).
17 The others are Laur S Marco 230 (Plautus), 262 (Cicero *De oratore*), and 665 (Augustine). All (except 230, which has lost its fly-leaf) have the note of donation, all are in the same hand; the attribution of the three named here to Poggio is accepted by Dr de la Mare in *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* vol I fasc 1 70. S Marco 690 conforms to Poggio's early practice in ruling, catchwords, etc, as outlined by de la Mare.
18 Ferguson 32-3; she also briefly identified Harley 2550, Flor Bibl Naz II.IX.125, and Laur pl.33,14 as descendants of F (33).
19 Postgate 50; A. Hänel *De Propertii codice Neapolitano IV F 20* (diss Greifswald 1912)
20 For the attribution see my 'A New Fragment in Niccoli's Formal Hand' *Scriptorium* 35 (1981) 290-2, plates 15 and 16.
21 The inventory is most readily accessible in F. Pintor 'Per la fortuna della libreria Medicea nel Rinascimento' *IMU* 3 (1960) 190-214 (194 note 2).
22 This is the final chapter of the *De doctrina promiscua* of Galeazzo Marzi, dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici (cited from the Lyon edition of 1552). Here Marzi defends two readings of the Petrarchan family (4.1.8 'tutus' and 24 'excalitabat') against what he calls 'laughable emendations' ('bubus' and 'exta litabat' respectively), which are not emendations but correct readings of N. Since both

readings advocated by Marzi are found in F, which belonged to the Medici, and since he appeals to Lorenzo to apply his 'medicamentum' to heal authors affected by 'praua emendatio,' it is tempting to suppose that he refers to support forthcoming from codices belonging to the Medici family. F was the oldest Propertius in Florence in the 1470s; Poggio's medieval copy (on which see chapter 3) had reached Rome by 1470 or 1471, and there were no old manuscripts available in Florence to support the readings that Marzi attacks. Both readings, however, are found in the *editio princeps* and the de Spira edition of 1472, and a printed copy could have stimulated Marzi's reflections. This obscure work is fascinatingly relevant to the history of classical scholarship, but is not mentioned by Timpanaro (*La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*) or Kenney (*The Classical Text*). Interesting is Marzi's equation of Virgil and the Bible as texts which must not be emended conjecturally; so too is this passage near the end, which concludes with an exhortation against the emendation of the texts of Aristotle, Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and other philosophers:

> Caute igitur et in Plauto et in Propertio caeterisque sic deprauatis incedendum est: hoc enim, ut diximus, exemplum periculosum putatur. Nam si hoc liceret et consuetudo admitteret, omnia ruerent, cum et ipsa Euangelia (*fort* in ipso Euangelio), ubi fundamenta ueritatis subsistunt, si dictiones uel orationes mutare permitterent (*fort* permitteretur), statim ueritas euanesceret, et si in tabellionum instrumentis aut historiis talia fierent, ueteres possessores excluderentur, et inuictos pro uictis haberemus: unde, Magnifice Laurenti, familiae tuae hoc onus incumbit, ut quos praua emendatio inuasit, tuo medicamento recipiant sanitatem, ne leges, et instituta maiorum, ne optimi mores integritasque linguae disciplinarumque sinceritas obliterentur et obsolescant, nec Philosophorum turba languescat...

Men like Heinsius and Housman have surely not made the world much worse, but they have left our texts of some Latin poets considerably better.

3

N and the *Vetustus codex* of Berardino Valla

N (Wolfenbüttel Gud lat 224), written about the beginning of the twelfth century, is deservedly respected as the oldest and least corrupted extant manuscript of Propertius but does not merit the adulation it sometimes receives. Although it has been studied more closely than any other, many details remain mysterious. The thoroughgoing account given by Birt in the Leiden photographic facsimile requires few modifications; these have been incorporated into the extended description included in Part Two. Nevertheless certain observations need to be made here. As was stated in chapter 1, the place of copying remains uncertain; the presence of the name 'Goeric' need imply no more than that N was handled at an early date by someone from Metz or conversant with its local heroes. The script of neither scribe (there are only two, not three as claimed by Richmond and Enk) suggests a specific centre, and no provenance more particular than northern France can safely be put forward. The second scribe corrected the entire manuscript from the exemplar; this is the only stage of correction important to the editor.

The history of N is scarcely clearer than its origin. There are Gothic-looking annotations in hands of the fourteenth and perhaps fifteenth century; one or two Italian hands of about 1500 can also be distinguished. There was once a longish note in a humanistic hand at the end of the text but that is now thoroughly erased. Several largely unintelligible notes in various hands appear on f 71v. One of them, which Birt found not completely legible, reads *Propertii poetae clarissimi liber aureus explicit*, a title otherwise unknown. Another note was read by Baehrens as the name of the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti; in fact it seems to be not 'Manettus' but 'Momettos,' whatever that means. Most of the corrections not made by the second scribe were made by a thin

humanistic hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Those that can be associated with a specific humanistic family (eg 1.6.3 'quo Rhipaeos,' 2.8.25 'effugies') are inconclusive; they come from what will be called below the theta group, which was perhaps Neapolitan (perhaps evidence that N had reached Naples by about 1500) but had at least two representatives copied in northern Italy.

Baehrens claimed that N was copied in Naples and once belonged to Manetti, who long resided there, but the only fact so far established concerning its earlier history is that Nicolaus Heinsius collated it at the library of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples. Ullman proposed that Poggio Bracciolini brought N to Italy from the vicinity of Cologne in 1423; Ferguson, influenced by claims that L and perhaps P (written in 1421 and 1423 respectively) show some influence from N, suggested instead that he acquired it in 1417 during a journey in the same area after the Council of Constance.[1] There is, however, no evidence to connect N with Poggio, and I have argued in chapter 2 that neither L nor P was influenced by any manuscript other than its exemplar. N is regularly identified as the *uetustus codex* of Berardino Valla which Poliziano saw in Rome.[2] This identification, which apart from the criterion of age, is based upon a single agreement in a correct reading, will be considered later in this chapter. The only real evidence for the career of N in the fifteenth century has so far gone unnoticed. Hertzberg's apparatus records several cases in which a reading of N radically different from that of the other manuscripts also appears in a Dresden codex (so, for instance, 2.30.19 'non tamen immerito,' where the rest of the tradition has 'nunc (tu) dura paras'). The Dresden manuscript (Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dc 133) shares these readings with two other *recentiores*, Grenoble Bibl Municipale 549 and Milan Bibl Ambrosiana I 67 sup. They also agree in other readings of N that are certainly errors or possibly interpolations and are found nowhere else in the tradition: 2.18.5 'quid mea si canis aetas canesceret annis' (on which see below 74f), 2.23.22 'iuuerint' (below, 72f), 2.28.35 'bombi,' 2.32.33 'fertur,' 3.6.26 'bombi,' 3.15.1 'Hic,' and 4.8.39 'eboralistria.'[3] All three, whose text otherwise belongs to a type that circulated widely in northern Italy, share other errors and interpolations which guarantee their descent from a common source (cf chapter 7). Probably some scholar who had access to N compared his own copy with it and recorded a few striking variants, surely out of respect for its age.[4] We can estimate with some precision where and when this is likely to have happened. Grenoble 549, according to its colophon, was written in Pavia in 1472; the evidence of script and decoration shows that the others were copied in

or near Milan about 1470-80. This consistency permits the suggestion that N was available in the vicinity of Milan at some time in or before 1472 but does not establish who brought it to Italy or when; one expects, however, that it would have exerted more influence had it arrived much earlier. If N was in Milan in the 1470s and later in Naples at San Giovanni a Carbonara in the seventeenth century, it is tempting to suggest that it may have been owned by Aulus Janus Parrhasius. Born in Cosenza in 1470, he worked in Milan for many years around the turn of the century, then made his way to Naples; there his library, through his heir Antonio Seripandi, passed to San Giovanni a Carbonara.[5] This is all that can reasonably be surmised about the history of N; other evidence suggests that the codices of Poggio and Valla were not N but another copy, now lost.

N has generally received considerable (and justified) respect; too often, however, it has been treated as a *codex optimus* that can be followed in every detail, even if it leads to nonsense. Baehrens, who tried to disparage N completely, and Housman, who followed him in this, argued that N has undergone metrical interpolation. One form of this is the avoidance in the hexameter of a monosyllable in the second half of the third foot followed by a spondaic word in the fourth. Horace *AP* 260 neatly illustrates the phenomenon. That line speaks of Ennius' 'in scaenam missos cum magno pondere uersus'; the heaviness of 'cum magno' (where Virgil and Ovid would have preferred 'magno cum') illustrates Horace's criticism of Ennius' metrical technique. According to Baehrens, Propertius followed the earlier manner but the scribe of N twice altered to conform to the later (at 2.3.27 and 2.34.23, where the A tradition offers respectively 'sunt partus' and 'me fallet' and N gives 'partus sunt' and 'fallet me'). A possible third example is 2.13.17, where the tradition gives 'nostros mors,' only P having 'mors nostros'; the weight of this excellently suits the context, and it may be that here the Ovidian version was introduced not only in N but in F as well (here only F and P survive as direct witnesses to Petrarch's copy). There is nothing inherently implausible in the suggestion that N could have undergone metrical interpolation. It was copied during the so-called *aetas Ouidiana*, when Ovid was widely read and imitated. The general accuracy of N is not incompatible with unconscious alteration to metrical patterns that the scribes regularly read and perhaps even imitated. On the other hand, the scribe of A does not seem to have had sufficient experience of the Latin language to alter in either direction.

The second form of interpolation alleged by Baehrens is the elimination of enclitic *que* attached to words ending in a short *e*, where Ovidian practice prefers *et*. Thus at 2.30.21

N gives 'spargere et' against 'spargereque' in the A tradition; again the scribe of A does not seem to have been sophisticated enough to make any conscious alteration, but the scribe of N might unconsciously have introduced the Ovidian version.[6]

If metrical interpolation exists, then verbal interpolation might as well. Housman argued that N is interpolated in two passages already mentioned, 2.30.19 and 2.32.33. In both cases textual corruption prevents absolute certainty, but some observations about the first (to be discussed again at the end of the chapter) may suggest an answer. N begins the line 'non tamen immerito,' F and Z 'nunc dura paras,' L and P 'nunc tu dura paras.' Arguably Petrarch's copy had the unmetrical 'nunc dura paras,' which the common source of LP repaired by adding 'tu.' These readings cannot be reconciled palaeographically, and at least one may be an interpolation. Now 'non tamen immerito' occurs elsewhere in Propertius at 3.19.27, with 'sed non immerito' at 2.6.35; if N has an interpolation, then it was available elsewhere in the text. The rather banal phrase might also be a marginal comment incorporated into the text. On the other hand, an unmetrical reading like 'nunc dura paras' is significantly less likely to have originated as a conjecture. The least that can be said is that the arguments for interpolation in N have not received the consideration they deserve;[7] it will be argued below that N has certainly suffered interpolation elsewhere.

How the readings of the N tradition (an expression used here, somewhat improperly, to mean 'correct readings not found in the A tradition') were diffused in Italy in the fifteenth century remains unclear; the major point of dispute ought to be whether they came from N or from another manuscript now lost, but the question has not been discussed seriously for several decades. The prevailing opinion is that N was that source, brought to Italy by Poggio, later to be collated by Poliziano; but it will be argued in the remainder of this chapter that, since N seems to have reached Italy rather late in the century and to have enjoyed only limited circulation, another manuscript, old and of excellent quality but now most unfortunately lost, is the source of the N readings of the *recentiores* and, furthermore, that this copy belonged to Poggio, was seen in Rome by Poliziano in 1484, and was collated in Naples by Franciscus Puccius in 1502. This hypothetical codex will be designated X.

There are six close descendants of X. The earliest was written in Florence in the summer or fall of 1427: in May of that year Poggio sent his copy from Rome to Niccoli in Florence.[8] Four other descendants were copied in Florence in the 1460s, after Poggio's return from Rome (1453) and renewed

residence there: it has been observed of the traditions of Statius' *Siluae*, Manilius, and Silius Italicus, which depend entirely or nearly so on manuscripts belonging to Poggio, that with rare exceptions those texts were largely copied or enjoyed a renewal of copying only after Poggio's return to Florence.[9] The last descendant is a Roman manuscript of about 1470: it was in Rome that Poliziano saw Valla's *uetustus codex*.

The single surviving early copy[10] is Bibl Vaticana Vat lat 3273 (v). Sabbadini, following a note of Fulvio Orsini, who once owned v, was the first modern scholar to identify the copyist as Antonio Beccadelli (known from his native city, Palermo, as Panormita); Ullman dismissed the identification out of hand as 'very doubtful,' but it is supported by Dr de la Mare and is consonant with presumed autographs, such as the volume of Panormita's collected correspondence Vat lat 3371. Sabbadini suggested that v was copied in 1427 because it contains a copy of Panormita's elegy to Lamola, written in that year.[11] The margins of v, chiefly in Books 3 and 4, contain readings and notes adopted from F or (perhaps more likely) from San Marco 690:

3.5.6	aera ... clade) ire ... classe
11.5	mortem) noctem (F3)
14	Maeotis) iniectis
21	*nouam elegiam inc 'De Semirami'*
39	*nouam elegiam inc 'De Cleopatra'*
13.59	uerus) c^{e} falsus v^{mg}: immo falsus F2^{mg}
4.1.60	Romanum se ostendit v^{mg}: Romanum se ostendit Propertius F2^{mg} *ad* 4.1.64
3.37	mappa mundi v^{mg}, F2^{mg}

All seem to have been copied with the text (several are rubricated) and so were probably present already in X; since X was sent to Niccoli, who owned San Marco 690 (written for him several decades earlier by Poggio), it was probably Niccoli who added them to X, and certain conjectures which appear in the descendants of X might likewise derive from Niccoli (Poggio is another possible source). Obviously the presence of these variant readings from F (for the presence of readings from P see below 81f) will complicate the study of X and its descendants. Panormita probably took v with him when he entered the service of King Alfonso of Naples in 1434. Some of the glosses that it contains may be in the hand of Pontano; an alternate version of 1.9.27 ('quippe tibi liceat uacuos subcludere ocellos') added on f 7 appears to have been composed by him, and he may have written it in v. Variant readings added by a compact later hand come from some manuscript related to Vienna

3153 (chapter 4). The enormous influence exerted by v on the humanistic tradition will be examined in chapters 4 and following.

Munich Universitätsbibliothek Cim 22 (s) was written in Florence ca 1460-70 by a man apparently very close to Lorenzo de' Medici; Dr de la Mare has suggested that he might be Poggio's son Jacopo. Three other Florentine copies of the same period share a common intermediate source (below, 69f). Paris BN lat 8233 (m), dated 1465, was written by one of the finest Florentine scribes, Gherardo del Ciriagio. It was later taken to Naples, where some variants were added to the margins, including one almost certainly from Pontano's own copy.[12] Editors cite it under the siglum μ to supply the probable readings of N in 4.11.17-76 and sporadically elsewhere. The Bibliotheca Bodmeriana of the Fondation Martin Bodmer houses the second member, Cod Bod 141 (former Abbey 5989), here called r. This was written in Florence in 1466 by one Johannes Petrus of Spoleto; like m, it went to Naples, where it belonged first to Antonello Petrucci, secretary to King Ferrante, then to the royal library after Petrucci's execution in 1487. On ff11-12 Pontano has inscribed three of his conjectures, known as such from his own copy. The third manuscript, here called u, is Bibl Vat Urb lat 641, cited by editors under the siglum υ for the same purpose as m. It was copied in Florence about 1465-70, and its scribe has been identified by Dr de la Mare as 'Sinibaldus C.'[13] Whoever copied or commissioned the immediate source of these three was probably a scholar of some discrimination. Besides Propertius m and u contain texts of Catullus that derive from Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1829 (R), which once belonged to Salutati and was only infrequently copied in the fifteenth century.[14] At a time when the works of both poets were readily available in Florence in better texts, this scholar assembled the oldest texts of Catullus and Propertius to be found there (nothing certain can be stated concerning his Tibullus). While it is interesting that his Catullus descends from Salutati's and his Propertius from Poggio's, this is of little help in identifying the scholar, since we cannot say precisely at what distance mru are removed from their origin. Conceivably copies by Niccoli of both Catullus and Propertius lie behind mru. These might have been available in the library of San Marco;[15] perhaps the bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci, for whom both Ciriagio and Sinibaldus are known to have worked, procured transcripts of them for discriminating clients.

The last descendant of X is Rome Bibl Casanatense 15 (c), which Muzzioli identified as the work of Pomponio Leto, head of the Roman Academy in the late fifteenth century, and as beloning to a series of texts copied by him in 1470 and 1471

for his pupil Fabio Mazzatosta and rubricated by Bartolomeo Sanvito. Some of Leto's own conjectures were incorporated, both indifferent (2.32.5 'cur quater Herculeum') and good (3.4.5 'Seres et'); often lacunae were left when the exemplar was obviously corrupt, presumably to allow the insertion of the correct reading when it could be found elsewhere or conjectured. Leto also incorporated some readings from F or a close descendant which do not appear in vmrus (eg 1.20.8 'traxerit').

That vmrusc descend from a single copy can be demonstrated by their agreement in errors not found in N or in A and its descendants. Agreements of all six are relatively rare. We have seen already that from an early date X contained readings from other manuscripts and that vsc were copied by able scholars who endeavoured to produce a readable text; one can however cite the following sure examples:

1.3.31	praecurrens) percurrens v^{ac}mrusc^{pc}
2.27.1	*priori coniungunt* v^{ac}mrusc
32.9	currere taedis) curreret aedis vmrusc
4.8.22	locos) iocos vmrusc
11.102	auis *Heinsius*: aquis N FLPZ) equis v^{vl}mrusc

Such errors also show that neither N nor A derives from X. The last invites the observation that the readings of X may appear in its descendants as variants rather than in the text. Other examples will follow: here Panormita probably demoted 'equis' to the status of a variant because he preferred the sense given by 'aquis,' taken from San Marco 690. Modern editions attribute 'equis' to the delta manuscripts; their partial dependence upon v will be discussed in chapter 5.

More errors of X can be adduced if we admit instances in which one of the scholars' copies has corrected a simple corruption:

1.4.19	post haec v) posthac mrusc
2.16.12	una v^{vl}c) illa v^{t}mrus
29.18	fecit v) facit mrus^{ac}c^{t}
4.1.85	moueant c) moneant v^{ac}mrus

Still more can be produced by admitting cases where two have emended (it should be remembered that here mru count as a single copy; see below, pp 69f):

1.2.2	mouere) mutare sc
4.17	haec) hoc mruc
19.18	cara) *cara* v *in ras.*: cura s
2.3.49	detractat) detrectat mrus

6.11	si multa) simulata vc
13	laedent) ledant mruc
9.26	poterentur) potirentur mrus^{vl}
22.43	es dura) dura es mruc
29.12	intereat) intrat mrus
32.3	o Cynthia) ochint(h)ia vmru
34.16	admitto) amitto mruc
63	Aeneae) aenea vmru
3.3.46	maerenti) morenti v^{t}, *om in lac* c
4.19	hoc) haec mruc
9.29	parcis) pacis sc
12.35	renouasse) reuocasse vc
18.24	aut) haud vmru
4.1.103	hoc) haec mrus
118	quam) qua rusc
2.32	Phoebi) plebi mruc
6.19	stetit) stent mrus
8.5	abrepto) arrepto mrus
9.17-18	*om* mruc

The last case is not necessarily significant, since the omission, caused by homoeoteleuton, could well have occurred twice independently. Indeed, several of the more trivial cases above could be coincidental agreements in error rather than inherited errors (1.4.17, 2.3.49, 2.34.16, 3.4.19, 4.1.103 among others). At 2.22.43, however, we can be sure that X read 'dura es' because Leto made a further alteration to adjust the metre, turning 'aut, si dura es, nega' into 'aut nega si dura es' (presumably relying upon such examples as 2.13.41 'cauĕ' for the scansion). In at least one certain case v alone has preserved an error of X. This is 4.2.30 'iura' for 'uina,' found as a variant copied with the text; the corruption is an easy one, perhaps influenced by 'lites' in 29. More separative errors of X will be indicated in the course of the following discussion.

Frequently only mru agree in error. Because of the high degree of correction in vsc, an error now found only in mru (or even in only two of them) might derive from X, unless it can be shown to have been introduced in some intermediate copy. The following is a brief but representative selection of such errors:

1.2.25	ne) nec
20.7	siue) sine
42	imaginibus) unguinibus
2.1.76	esseda) essedi
3.18	euhantis) cubantis
12.18	si) sed

30.35 Oeagri) agni
34.47 ante) a te
3.1.5 tenuastis) renouastis
15 multi) multa
11.14 Maeotis) concotis
13.5 mittit) nutrit
4.1.31 Soloni) seloni
8.39 *Versum omiserunt spatio relicto*

If N did not circulate in Italy until late in the fifteenth century, we have some hope of determining whether certain errors, at least, of mru were inherited from X or introduced by a common source. Anyone who copied X in Florence in 1427 had access only to manuscripts derived from Petrarch's: therefore, if mru are in error where vsc have a correct reading which could not have come from a Petrarchan manuscript and could not be the result of conjecture, then that error was present in X. There is at least one persuasive example in the list above. At 3.11.14 'Maeotis' survives in N and vsc in the spelling 'Meotis'; mru give 'concotis,' F 'iniectis' (I have already argued above, in chapter 2, that this is a conjecture of Petrarch and that his copy read 'niectis,' from which P has 'neiectis' before correction to 'iniectis'). To restore 'Maeotis' from 'concotis,' 'iniectis,' or 'neiectis' would be a conjecture worthy of a Heinsius; hence mru share a conjunctive error and so a common intermediate source. The error derives from misreading a form of *M* common in late Carolingian French and German manuscripts, ꝯ, as the abbreviation for 'cum' or 'con,' 9 ; such an *M* appears in v suprascipt at the end of 'Laconum' in 3.14.33. Probably 'seloni' in 4.1.31 is another instance, 'Soloni' being too abstruse a conjecture if X read 'seloni'; FP have 'coloni.' At 3.1.5 'renouastis,' probably an *ad hoc* correction of 'renuastis,' is another; the Petrarchan manuscripts have 'tenuistis.' Most of these errors, however, do not permit certainty. Since they are largely of types associated with minuscule scripts, and since the exemplar of X could well have been in Carolingian minuscule, there is no way to determine on palaeographical grounds whether a particular error is more likely to have been introduced in X or in an intermediate Renaissance copy. The perpetual confusion of *c* and *e* and the frequent confusion of *a* and *i* may lend some support to the hypothesis that the common source of mru derived from a copy made by Niccoli in the cursive hand that he used in the 1420s.[16]

One would like to be able to dissociate more errors of mru from X; this is seldom easy, and it might be hazardous to ignore the clues they could offer to the readings of X. There is no consistency in the agreement of vsc with them or among

themselves in error; thus we may posit four lines of descent, namely v, the common source of mru, s, and c, to arrange them in what is probably their correct chronological order.

It is often difficult to establish what X read. In 3.13.21, for instance, sc have 'flamine' for 'flammae'; this might have been in X, but could as easily be a coincidental agreement in error. At 2.28.8 vs give 'iuratur' for 'iurarunt,' which is found in mruc and the Petrarchan family, while N has 'iurarem'; probably X had 'iuratur' (by a metathesis of letters in 'iurarūt'). Where X was corrupt, the professional scribes of mru were more likely to leave the corruption in the text, while the scholars who copied vsc left lacunae or attempted conjectures of their own. Sometimes such a lacuna in a single copy provides the clue necessary to understanding X. In 3.11.17 vs agree with N FLPZ in 'Omphale in tantum'; mru have 'et' for 'in,' and c omitted 'in tantum' in a lacuna. One could argue that X had 'in' and that 'et' is another conjunctive error of mru were there not a lacuna in c. Probably X read 'et'; Leto balked at copying this because it cripples the syntax. The corruption presumably arose from misreading abbreviated 'in' ($\bar{\imath}$) as the 7-shaped compendium for 'et' (7); 'et' will then serve as another separative error of X. In 3.11.19 N FLPZ v correctly read 'qui'; mru give 'ibi' and c 'tibi,' while s omitted 'qui pacato' in a lacuna before supplying the correct version. Here too mru have probably retained the reading of X ($\frac{1}{q}$ misread as $\frac{1}{l}$).

Despite such complications, we can be certain that X shared the same archetype as N and A because it agrees with them in a number of errors:

1.12.19	desistere c) dissistere N vmrus A
2.3.17	Iaccho c) iacheo N vmrus Fb: acheo P: iicheo n
9.2	eiecto) electo N vmrusc FPbn
29.4	hos cZ) hoc N vmrus FLP
30.17	Maeandri c) menandri N vmrus^{vl} FLPZ
32.23	nostras F) nostra N vmrusc LPZ
34.32	inflati somnia) inflatis omnia N vmrusc FLPZ
72	ipse c) ipsa N vmrus FLPZ
3.2.15	comites) comitis N vmrusc: comiti FLPZ
13.32	uersicoloris cP) uiricoloris N vmrus FLZ
4.2.59	stipes) stipis N vmrusc FLPZ
7.7	eosdem) hosdem N vmrusc FLPZ
9.22	ministrat) ministret N vmrusc FLPZ
34	fana uiris) uana uiis N vrmus (*om* c) FLPZ

This is only a brief selection from many examples.

On a very few occasions N and A appear to agree in error against X:

1.15.7 Eois $v^{pc}mruc$) cois (?) v^{ac}: et chois N s: haec chois A
2.28.53 hioa v^{mg}) Troia N v^{t}mrusc FLPZ
3.5.6 aera vmrusc) aere N: ire FLPZ
4.5.36 Maiis mru: Mais sc) malis N v FLPZ

In the second example, to be discussed more fully below, X apparently preserved a reading of the archetype ousted elsewhere by an interpolation, but we cannot be certain that the interpolation did not already appear in the archetype. At 3.5.6 the final *e* shared by N FLPZ could serve as a conjunctive error if 'aera' were not so easy and obvious a conjecture for someone who had 'aere' in his text. The same applies to 4.5.36, where 'Idibus' follows immediately; X could have been corrected after it was copied by Panormita. In 1.15.7 X may have had 'et chois,' as read by s, or perhaps 'ec(h)ois,' which could more readily have suggested the conjecture 'Eois'; it could also explain the readings of N and A if it appeared in the archetype.

A stronger case might be made for the agreement of A and X in error against N:

1.8.38 auara N vsc) amara mru A
18.19 arbor N mrusc) ardor v A
2.22.44 quid N vs) quod mruc FLP
23.22 iuerint *Heinsius*: iuuerint N) capiant vmrusc FLP
29.8 iam N) nam vmrusc FLPZ
32.22 meretur N) mereris vmrusc FLPZ
33.37 demissae ... sertae N) demissa ... serta vmrusc FLPZ
3.6.22 et qualem N) (a)equalem vmrusc FLPZ
nolo *Palmer*: nullo N) nulla vmrusc FLPZ
7.25 posita est N) positaque vmrusc FLPZ
33 quem N mrus) quam vc FLPZ
49 thalamo N) c(h)alamo vmrusc FLPZ
8.19 in iurgia N) iniuria vmrusc FLPZ
28 irata N) iratam vmrusc FLPZ
15.3 praetexti N) praetexta vmrusc FLPZ
32 ubi aduerso ... Noto *Lachmann*: sub aduerso ... Noto N) in aduersos ... Notos vmrusc FLPZ
16.7 distulero haec N) haec distulero vmrusc FLPZ
4.3.50 ter *Palmer*: te N) tibi vmrusc FLPZ

The list, however, is less impressive than it might appear at first glance; the first two examples, for instance, show coincidental agreement in trivial errors. The passages where N is closer than the other manuscripts to a modern conjecture require individual attention, since the conjecture must be certain if a valid argument is to be based upon it. At 2.23.22

the prosaic 'iuuerint' in N could be a gloss on the figurative 'capiant' explaining that it means 'please,' rather than 'deceive' or the like; the fact that the rare form 'iuerint' is attested at Cat 66.18 does not prove that Propertius used it here. If, on the other hand, 'iuerint' is right and 'capiant' is the gloss, the passage still will not prove that A and X share an error if the gloss was present in the archetype. At 3.6.22 Palmer's 'nolo' is certain; 'nullo' in N has been thought to be closer to the archetype than 'nulla,' but it is just as likely that the archetype read 'nulla' and that 'nullo' in N arose from 'nullo' in 21 almost directly above. At 3.15.32 Lachmann's widely accepted conjecture should be rejected, since the dative of motion does not carry the notion of opposition that the context requires. If Palmer's 'ter' is right in 4.3.50, X and A are as close to the correct reading as is N ('ter,' abbreviated t', misread as the abbreviation for 'tibi'). Elsewhere X and A appear to agree in error only because editors so consistently adopt the reading of N in passages of doubt. In 2.29.8, for instance, there is so little difference in meaning with 'iam' or 'nam' that it would be impossible to declare that one is certainly right. Editors invariably print 'et qualem' after N in 3.6.22, but this scribe was prone to create 'et' out of initial *e*; cf 1.2.18 'et uenit' N, 'euenit' cett; 2.1.44 'et numerat' N, 'enumerat' cett. Thus the archetype might well have read 'equalem'; if this derives from 'aequalem,' then Scaliger's conjecture 'ac qualem' could be right. At 3.7.25 the flat reading of N does not merit acceptance; if the archetype had 'positaque in gurgite uita,' then 'est' in N might be a gloss added to explain that 'posita' meant 'posita est' (classical rules of scansion show that 'posita' is ablative singular, but this would have troubled few medieval readers). Again at 3.16.7 the version of N is generally accepted, but either is equally possible. In some passages where N is certainly right the agreement of X and A might be due to contamination; X perhaps agreed with N, but the reading was not understood and was rejected in favour of one from F. So, for instance, at 2.32.22 'mereris' might have been adopted instead of 'meretur' because the largely archaic non-deponent use of 'mereo' was unfamiliar. At 2.33.37 the reading of N is guaranteed by a citation in Charisius; the form 'serta,' however, is not found outside Propertius and Charisius, who was unknown in the early Renaissance. At 3.8.19 'in iurgia' is certainly right but requires Vahlen's conjecture 'uertas' (for 'uersat') to be intelligible; with 'uersat,' 'iniuria' gives plausible sense. There remain only a few possible agreements in error, 2.22.44, 3.7.33 (in neither of which is it certain that X agreed with A), 3.7.49, and 3.8.28. These involve rather trivial confusions

of 'quid/quod,' 'quem/quam,' t/c,' and 'a/ā.' Neither individually nor collectively do they offer compelling evidence; A and X could have erred independently, or N could have corrected. The cases of 2.32.22, 2.33.37, and 3.8.19 would be more compelling if X survived and we could be sure that it agreed with A and not with N.

It is worthwhile drawing attention to an example that supports the suggestion that N made minor corrections: this is 4.7.16, where N F mru correctly read 'trita,' LZ vsc give 'trista,' and P has 'certa.' The reading of P is obviously a conjecture, and it appears likely that A read 'trista'; 'trita' in F will be a lucky accident or a conjecture. It appears from vsc that X also read 'trista'; 'trita' in mru will derive from accident or conjecture or contamination. Thus 'trista' might be a conjunctive error of A and X, but it is equally possible that it appeared in the archetype and that 'trita' in N, as in F and mru, derives from accident or conjecture.

A final possible conjunctive error of A and X requires fuller treatment. N gives 2.18.5 in the form 'quid mea si canis aetas canesceret annis'; since Propertius is not likely to have written 'canis ... canesceret,' editors adopt this version with Heinsius' 'candesceret,' comparing Tibullus 1.10.43 'liceatque caput candescere canis.' The line appears in vmrusc FLPZ as 'quid si iam canis aetas mea caneret annis,' except that c omits 'caneret annis.' In addition to the problem of 'canis ... caneret' this presents the further difficulty of the false quantity 'canĕret.' If the archetype read 'canesceret,' then 'caneret' would be a conjunctive error of AX (the presumably interpolated 'iam' would serve the same function). While editors are understandably attracted to a version that with so little alteration produces acceptable sense, there is no reason to think that it is more likely than the version of AX to represent the text of the archetype. N unidiomatically separates 'quid si' by 'mea' (elsewhere only 'tum' appears between them in this idiom). 'Iam,' not found in N, is very much in place, though it could be objected that this would readily come to mind if an extra syllable were required. Arguably 'quid si iam canis,' with its three monosyllables and succession of long syllables, gives a harder, more characteristically Propertian rhythm that an Ovidianizing scribe might have lightened; Propertius perhaps wrote 'quid si iam canis aetas mea canderet annis' ('canderet' D'Orville). 'Candĕre' occurs at Ven Fort *C* 2.9.24 and in glossaries (cf *ThLL* 3.234.9-11); such parallel phenomena as 'feruēre/feruĕre' are well known. On either interpretation 'cand-' was already corrupted in the archetype to 'can-.' An intelligent medieval scribe confronted with the apparently unmetrical version of AX could have conjectured the more familiar 'canesceret' (cf Ovid *H* 3.65, *Am*

1.8.52, *M* 2.212, 9.422 and other authors); this requires that one sacrifice something else in the line, and one dispenses more easily with 'iam' than with 'mea.' Neither explanation is free of difficulties; one requires accepting the unidiomatic 'quid mea si' and losing 'iam,' the other a weakly attested 'candĕre'; Tibullus 1.10.43 does not support one over the other. If one of the two versions is likely to derive from medieval interpolation, it is that of N, and it has been argued already that N may show some degree of metrical interpolation.

That N and X agree in error against A can be argued from the following examples:

1.2.18 euenit A) et uenit N mru
8.17 mereris) moreris N^{ac} mrus
9.12 lenia) leuia N vmrus
16.10 obscenis) obcenis N v
18.18 ulla) nulla N vcs
2.9.44 sis) sic N mruc
20.23 numquam) unquam N mruc
22.30 num) non N mrus
26.29 *nouam elegiam inc* N v^{mg}mruc
27.7 flemus) fletus N vmru: fle *ceteris in lac omissis* c
28.35 *nouam elegiam inc* N v^{mg}mruc
32.8 uetat) uocat N mru
21 famae) fama N s: fama et v
3.1.1 Coi) eoi NP^{c} sc
33 memorator) memoratur N v^{ac}mru: memorarat s
14.17 harenis vmru: athenis FLPZ) habenis N sc
33 fores) feres N v^{t}
15.3 amictus LPZ) amicus N vmrusc F
25.13 cupias LPZ) capias N vmrusc F
4.5.58 arte FLPZ) aere N vmrusc
6.85 carmine) carmina N v^{ac}mrusc
9.38 recepta) suscepta N mruc: *om in lac* s

Not all are of equal weight. The agreements of N with mru alone (1.2.18, 2.32.8) are insignificant, and it would be risky to build an argument upon the cases where N sides with mru and s or c in a trivial error (1.8.17, 1.9.12, 1.18.18, 2.9.44, 2.20.23, 2.22.30, 3.1.33). Sometimes, however, we can be certain that the agreement is not a figment. The partial omission by c at 2.27.7 would appear to guarantee that X read 'fletus.' If X had read 'famae' at 2.32.21 Panormita would not have written 'fama et'; had it read 'fores' at 3.14.33 he would not have put 'feres' in the text and relegated 'fores' to the status of a variant reading. To these may be added other persuasive examples. At 3.1.1 'Coi' is read by

the Petrarchan tradition and by vmru, while sc have 'eoi'; the exemplar of N must also have read 'eoi,' since it has been corrected from 'coi.' 'Coi' in FLPZ is probably not a conjecture of Petrarch, unless he remembered Ovid *AA* 3.329 or *Rem* 760, which name a 'Cous' or 'Cous poeta' in connection with Callimachus. One could, however, argue that in all these cases the Petrarchan family could have achieved the correct reading by accident or by conjecture if the error of NX appeared in the archetype. This might be difficult (though not impossible) to maintain at 4.9.38, where, if the archetype read 'suscepta,' 'recepta' must be a conjecture of Petrarch; if the archetype read 'recepta,' then N and X might have erred independently, since 'succepto' (so NX and the archetype against 'suscepto' in the A family) appears above in 36 (in this case, however, we might expect NX to have read 'succepta,' not 'suscepta,' in 38). It is unfortunate that there appear to be no non-trivial agreements of NX where A survives. Even if some of the apparent agreements of NX are only figments, they are on the whole more difficult to explain away than the apparent agreements of AX, and the case for joining NX against A is stronger than that for joining NA against X or AX against N. The hypothesis that N X A represent three branches of descent from the archetype would be worth considering if we could be sure that such agreements as 'suscepta' at 4.9.38 are accidental.

If N and X share errors, it remains possible to argue that X was N or a descendant of it. Since X has not survived and demonstrably underwent correction, this could not be refuted with passages where vmrusc are right against an error in N. Substantial evidence, however, supports the claims that N and X were not the same manuscript and that X did not derive from N. Two notes written by Panormita in v state that his exemplar did not divide 2.10 from 2.9 or 2.11 from 2.10; N does divide and could not have been his exemplar.[17] At 4.1.65 X apparently read 'si quis' in the text with 'asis' as a gloss ('quisquis' N^{pc}: 'quasuis' FLPZ: 'si quis' $v^{t}s$: 'asis' v^{vl}mruc). Whether 'si quis' is a scribal variant or a conjecture, vmrusc derive from a copy in which 'asis' had already been introduced from 4.1.125 as a gloss; there is no trace of such a gloss in N, unless it lies beneath 'quisquis.' This is perhaps not compelling; the gloss presupposes 4.1.125 in the same corrupt state in which we now have it and could have been added in an intermediate copy. More persuasive is the case of 4.7.57, where v gives 'fasę' as an alternative to 'Cressae'; this must be a corruption of a gloss 'Pasifaae' or 'Pasifaes.' There is no trace of such a gloss in N, and the corrupt word is not likely to derive from conjecture.

Further evidence comes from the variant (or rather correction) that appeared in X at 4.2.34: 'fauor' N: 'faunor' FLPZ: 'fauor^{n}' vs: 'fauon' mruc. Here vs presumably preserve the appearance of X; c and mru incorporated the correction. Obviously X cannot derive from N unless we imagine that someone attempted to remedy a corrupt line by introducing a meaningless word. We can go further and observe that X here gave not simply its own correction but the text of the archetype: N ignored the correction, the Petrarchan tradition incorporated it incorrectly. X cannot derive from N or A and here is closer to the archetype than either of them; conjecture should begin not from 'fauor' but from 'fauon.'

Another example, less conclusive because it involves a correct reading rather than a nonsensical corruption, occurs at 1.18.16: 'deiectis' v^{t}: 'delectis' N v^{vl}st: 'delictis' mrus^{vl}c: 'dilectis' A. X (and the archetype) must have read 'delectis' with a suprascript *i* indicating correction to 'deiectis.' Perhaps the *i* was slightly displaced by a tall *l*; only Panormita understood it correctly and restored 'deiectis.' As at 4.2.34, s preserved the appearance of his exemplar ('del^{i}ectis'); mruc incorporated the correction, as did A (with a different result), and N ignored it.[18]

A more complex example at 2.30.16: 'tenere' FZ vsc: 'tedere' LP^{ac}: 'detenere' Nl: 'derege' mru. Probably the archetype read 'tenere,' with 'degere' (perhaps already corrupted to 'derege') as a gloss. N incorporated 'de' from the gloss to produce 'detenere.' By a similar process A created 'tedere,' which Petrarch corrected to 'tenere.' The examples already discussed suggest that X had 'tenere' with the gloss still intact; this time only the source of mru adopted it into the text. Again X appears to have drawn upon a stage of the text anterior to N and A and cannot derive from either of them.

Another example, more speculative in nature, occurs at 2.3.22. N and the Petrarchan family, followed by the majority of modern editions, offer this as 'carmina quae quiuis non putat aequa suis,' which gives a sense inappropriate to the context: Cynthia's accomplishments as poet must be praised, not disparaged. Not even the erudition of Shackleton Bailey (whose note should be consulted) has succeeded in vindicating it. X read 'quiuis' in the text with 'uel lyrines' in the margin or above the line (so vs; mru and c incorporated the latter, reading respectively 'carmina quae lyrines' and 'carmina quae lirines'). 'Lyrines,' known for many years from later manuscripts which have taken it ultimately from v, has been explained as a corruption either of a gloss 'lyrices' on the name of Corinna in 21 or of a note 'uel rines' that was supposed to provide a Greek termination for the same name.

In either case we must suppose that the note wandered from its proper position; but the manuscript was in scholars' hands too short a time for such glosses to be corrupted in vmru (much less to roam about the page). I suggest instead that both 'quiuis' and 'uel lyrines' are remnants of a corrupt gloss on the name of a poetess now lost from 22. Perhaps Propertius wrote, as Beroaldus (beginning from 'lyrines' but reasoning differently) suggested, 'carminaque Erinnes non putat aequa suis,' or, as Heinsius conjectured, 'carminaque haec Anytes,' etc; one could also read 'Moerus' or even 'Sapphus' for 'Anytes,' but the most likely restoration is perhaps 'carminaque Erinnae' (rather than 'Erinnes,' in view of the termination of 'Corinnae' in 21). Erinna's name was glossed with 'uel lyrices cuiusuis,' which was later corrupted to 'uel lyrines quiuis.' 'Erinnae,' perhaps already corrupt, was suspected of being a false doublet of 'Corinnae' in 21 and replaced by 'quiuis' from the gloss (that, unlike 'lyrines,' being a recognizable Latin word); 'uel lyrines' survived in the archetype and X but was ignored by N and A. Again X cannot derive from N or A.

In another case X appears to have preserved a reading of the archetype replaced elsewhere in the tradition by an interpolation. Most editions give 2.28.53-4 as follows:

> et quot Troia tulit uetus et quot Achaia formas
> et Thebae et Priami diruta regna senis.

This is as N FLPZ vmrusc give them, except that Scaliger's 'Thebae' is generally adopted for 'phebi' in 54. This makes Propertius contrast first the women of an Asian city (Troy) with those of a region of Greece (Achaea), then the women of a Greek city (Thebes) with those of an Asian city (Troy again). The imbalance and the double reference to Troy have invited conjecture; modern scholars tend to favour 'Pthia' (Huschke)[19] or 'Creta' (Rossberg) to replace 'Troia.' Palaeographically 'Creta' is more plausible, but neither produces a geographical balance. Editors ignore 'Iona,' now attributed to Scaliger but found first in Ravenna Bibl Classense 277 (below, pp 87f). This is based upon a reading of v which must surely have been inherited from X. It appears in the margin only, in two forms, 'ĩoa' and HIOΛ, the latter rubricated. Probably the former represents its appearance in X; Panormita interpreted the suprascript mark as indicating aspiration. If ever a reading was not a conjecture, this is it; the conjecture based upon it ('Ionia,' scanned as a trisyllable, like 'Lauiniaque' at Virgil *A* 1.2, seems preferable to 'Iona') gives an artful balance in which first regions, then cities, of Greece and Asia are contrasted in chiastic order. 'Troia' could be an interpolation or a gloss on 'Priami diruta regna senis.'

Since it has been argued that X inherited glosses from the archetype and that N and X perhaps shared a common hyparchetype, the glosses inherited by X must also have appeared in that hyparchetype; thus it would be appropriate to ask whether any survive in N. It was suggested earlier that N incorporated glosses at 2.23.22 and 3.7.25. One gloss from the archetype apparently still survives in N, the suprascript word 'nifeas' at 3.13.9, written over 'clausas' in 'haec etiam clausas expugnant arma pudicas.' Modern editions err in two details in reporting N here. The manuscript most certainly reads 'clausas,' not 'clauias' (the first *s* differs from the others made by the same scribe only in that the two strokes are imperfectly joined). More important, the hand that wrote *nifeas* is not late but early enough to be contemporary with copying; it would be rash to assert that it belongs to the scribe, since the scale is smaller and the strokes thinner, but the possibility cannot be excluded. Admiration for N has led to conjectures based upon 'nifeas,' such as 'uittas' (Unger) and 'nymphas' (Müller). Now 3.13.9 contains two modifiers without a noun, certainly 'poor ... writing,' as Shackleton Bailey describes it. Arguably 'nifeas' represents a gloss 'feminas' deformed by a process involving little more than a metathesis of syllables ('feminas - fēinas - infeas - nifeas'); the mutilation can be paralleled in 'fase' at 4.7.57, which represents the latter half of *Pasifaes* slightly jumbled. The clumsiness of two modifiers without a noun is eliminated if Propertius wrote, as Markland conjectured, 'haec etiam clausas expugnant arma puellas' (cf 3.3.49 'clausas ... excantare puellas'). The gloss 'feminas pudicas' was added to explain 'clausas puellas'; 'pudicas' replaced 'puellas,' while 'feminas' (perhaps already corrupt) remained above the line. The conjecture restores point to the couplet, since there is now a contrast between the chastity of 'puellae clausae' (who are guarded against their inclination and whose guardians can be corrupted by money) and that of women like Penelope who are chaste through their own determination but who may themselves be corrupted.

N perhaps preserves another variant or correction of the archetype at 4.5.35, where it reads *ămicle* for the name of a serving girl. The Petrarchan manuscripts and vmrus read *omicle*, but *amicle* in c probably implies that *ămicle* stood in X and so perhaps in the archetype as well. If it represents a correction of the archetype, then the archetype's exemplar read 'omicle' and Palmer's 'Omichle' may be right.

It might be objected that, while these examples show that X could not have been the same codex as N, speculative arguments concerning the archetype do not constitute proof that X represents in some cases a purer stratum of the text than N; X might still derive from N, and corrupt glosses could

have arisen in some intermediate copy. Against this it could be argued that all of the glosses surviving in vmrusc appear to have been corrupt; this seems unlikely in a relatively recent copy. Even if there were other glosses in X that were not corrupt but were not retained by its descendants, their failure to survive is compatible with the hypothesis that X was an old manuscript, so venerable that its oddities were retained on the chance that they might hold some grain of truth. There is, however, circumstantial evidence for identifying X as an 'old' medieval manuscript. It was observed above that the last direct descendant of X was copied in Rome in 1470 or 1471. In his *Miscellanea* of 1489, Poliziano reported that five years earlier he had seen in Rome at the house of Berardino Valla a *codex uetustus* of Propertius that read 'Ocno' at 4.3.21;[20] he made a collation of it, now lost.[21] Since N is old and reads 'Ocno,' it has generally been identified as Valla's copy. Now vmrusc all read 'oeno' with the Petrarchan manuscripts, but v also has 'Ocno' and 'orno' as variants copied along with the text and 'Ocno' as the reading of the text after correction. It is quite likely that X read 'Ocno,' supplemented at an early date by 'oeno' from San Marco 690. Valla's manuscript reappears in a collation made in Naples in 1502 by the royal librarian, Franciscus Puccius; its subscription reads, in part, 'Franciscus Puccius haec annotabat ... secutus fidem antiquissimi codicis qui primum fuit Berardini Vallae patricii Romani uiri doctissimi dein ab eo dono est datus Alfonso secundo regi Neapolitano principi litterarum amantissimo.'[22] Berardino Valla is not a common name, and there is no evidence of a person so named who cannot be identified with the owner of the manuscript seen by Poliziano.[23] Nor is it likely that Berardino Valla owned two different old manuscripts of Propertius; it is reasonable therefore to assume that the two men, and the two manuscripts, are one and the same. Puccius' autograph has not yet been found; the readings reported in the known copies may not reflect the original accurately, but most of those assigned to the *uetus* or *antiquus codex* restore the text of the archetype and so are likely to be broadly accurate. The collation records that Valla's copy did not divide 2.27 from 2.26; this is true of vmrusc but not of N. Other manuscripts descended from X also fail to make the division (see chapter 4), but none could have been called 'uetustus' by Poliziano. Specimens of Valla's hand survive;[24] we cannot prove that he did not own N but we can say that he is not among its annotators. As both Poliziano and Puccius observed, Valla was a Roman; he had ties with Florence, however, since the four extant letters are addressed to a Florentine scholar, Francesco Gaddi. One might tentatively suggest, then, that Valla, through his Florentine connections, brought Poggio's Propertius to Rome. If Poliziano

called X 'uetustus,' it must have been medieval, for he was quite acute in estimating the age of manuscripts.[25] Unfortunately, he used this term with more elasticity than others; it apparently indicates a Caroline minuscule as early as the ninth or as late as the twelfth century. Some of the palaeographical errors discussed earlier may place X in the later part of this range, perhaps about contemporary with N. The shape of the *M* that must have appeared at 3.11.14 suggests a later (French?) Carolingian hand.

Since one observation of Puccius on the text of Valla's copy has been invoked, some others that do not restore the text of the archetype may be discussed briefly. In the portion of the text collated for this study these are:[26]

1.1.13 psilli O) psill$\mathfrak{h}$ (*sic*: psillus?)
2.1.47 laus altera si datur uno) laus si datur altera uiuo *ed*: 'ita habet uetus codex et ita quadrat sensus' *Puccius*
7.13 *nouam elegiam inc codd*: 'Una elegia in antiquo codice' *Puccius*
13.35 horrida) arida
30.35 compressa) comprensa
32.58 corrupit) corripuit
34.12 posses) possisne
4.6.3 philippeis O) Philethaeis
7.72 Chloridos) Colchidos

The failure to divide 2.7 rings true, since X seems not to have divided 2.10 from 2.9, 2.11 from 2.10, or 2.27 from 2.26. 'Philiteis' in 4.6.3 is generally considered a conjecture of Beroaldus; but since X contained other remarkable survivals, this too could conceivably be a true detail. Some look like interpolations (such as 4.7.72), while others belong to the difficult category of readings that could equally be scribal errors or deliberate interpolations; one of them, 2.32.58 'corripuit,' could even be correct. Without Puccius' autograph, it would be risky to assume that these appeared in Valla's codex.

Another possible source for readings of X must be considered. As was shown in chapter 2, P was copied in Florence in 1423, is somehow connected with Poggio and Niccoli, and was very early corrected from an N-like source; since X was sent by Poggio to Niccoli in Florence in 1427, and since N seems not to have reached Italy until much later in the century, X was probably the source from which P was first corrected. The presence of certain conjectures and errors of P in v, mru, and s supports this. Thus v^{mg} at 2.6.24 gives 'uiri' for the corrupt 'feri' of the archetype; 'uiri' is the reading of P,

where it must be a conjecture. It would appear that 'uiri' had already been inscribed in X when Panormita copied it; thus Niccoli may have loaned X to the scribe of P before Panormita ever saw it (alternatively Panormita perhaps took the reading from inspection of P). Convincing evidence that the copyist of P collated X and not N comes at 4.10.18, where N FLPZ read 'a proco'; P^{vl} has 'aprico,' as read by vmrusc, and not likely to derive from conjecture.[27]

Most of the early corrections in P agree broadly with both N and X in restoring the text of the archetype; some further examples will illustrate the difficulty of using these as a source for readings of X. At 2.2.2 'ignosco' appears as a variant for 'ignoro.' N has 'sco' suprascript over 'ignoro' in an apparently early hand; there is no trace of 'ignosco' among vmrusc, but this does not establish that X did not have it in some form. Nor can we argue that X did read 'ignosco,' since the scribe of P was fully capable of making the conjecture himself. Equally unclear is the status of the variant at 4.11.97. For 'lugubria' N vmrusc give 'lubrigia,' FLPZ 'lubrica'; probably a metathesis of syllables produced 'lubrigua' in the archetype. P^{vl} gives the meaningless 'subrigia.' This is surely no conjecture, but it appears in no extant copy (except for one descendant of P which reads 'subrichia'). If it was in X, it is difficult to see how vmrusc came to have instead of this corruption an equally senseless one which could not have been adopted from the Petrarchan tradition. Perhaps the scribe of P misread X or slipped because the following word begins with *s*; even the chance that some scholar altered 'subrigia' to 'lubrigia' in X (aided by 'lubrica' in F) because it 'looks' more like a Latin word cannot safely be dismissed. In any case, such uncertainties clearly make P an unsatisfactory source for the readings of X.

It remains to summarize the position of X and the role of its descendants in establishing the text. Since the collations of Poliziano and Puccius have not been found, vmrusc are our only sources for X. The nature of copying in the Renaissance often makes it difficult to determine the reading of X. It is likely that Poggio, after acquiring it, carried out the basic operation of correcting such obvious errors as incorrect division of words and faulty orthography as well as making more substantial emendations; an impression of these may be obtained from his corrections to Vat lat 3870 described by C. Questa in *Per la storia del testo di Plauto nel'umanesimo: La 'recensio' di Poggio Bracciolini* (Rome 1968) 32-8. Such alterations have undoubtedly made it more difficult to establish separative errors of X; they have probably eliminated some corruptions of the archetype 'corrected' in NA that would have aided in restoring the text and have probably introduced some emendations

of passages corrupt in the entire tradition. The other scholars who handled X at an early date, such as Niccoli, Panormita, and the scribe of P, surely made similar alterations besides adding readings from the manuscripts already available in Florence. The four lines of descent from X differ in important respects. In v Panormita displays two extreme kinds of behaviour. On the one hand, being anxious to produce a readable text, he incorporated correct or plausible readings derived from conjecture or collation; on the other hand, by relegating the corrupt readings of X to the margins, he preserved more of them than any other copyist. The scribe of s was also concerned to produce a good text but tended to leave lacunae before correction that can alert the editor to a corruption of X which has left no other trace. Lacunae or conjectures in c also point to corruptions in X. These three manuscripts all incorporate readings of F and P as well as conjectures. The group mru offers particular difficulties; they abound in trivial scribal errors, only some of which can be shown to have been introduced in their common intermediate source, which may itself have introduced at least a few conjectures. Sometimes the reading of X survives in one or more of its descendants, sometimes it must be deduced from what they do offer; but it must also be true that sometimes the reading of X cannot now be determined even by conjecture.

The loss of X means that it seldom helps in evaluating the numerous cases where something present in the Petrarchan manuscripts is omitted by N (conveniently assembled by Butler and Barber, lxxxi), but an answer can be suggested. No such omission occurs in a passage where A is extant, so that in theory the possibility of interpolation by Petrarch must be reckoned with; that is, something omitted by N might have been omitted in the archetype, and so in A and X as well, and a supplement invented by Petrarch (note, however, that he did not attempt to remedy the omission of 1.6.15 in his copy). Whether the reading of the A family is a piece of genuine tradition or a conjectural supplement, its presence in vmrusc as well as FLPZ need prove no more than that it was introduced into X from F or San Marco 690 to complete an obviously defective line. These considerations apply strictly where vmrusc agree exactly with FLPZ (2.34.53 and 83; 3.1.27; 3.5.39; 3.9.35; 4.3.7). On the omission of 3.10.17-18 by both N and c see page 194f below. In two passages where N has omitted an entire line vmrusc disagree with FLPZ. N omits 2.22.50; vmrusc have it with 'plura' against 'fata' in FLPZ. The line seems too corrupt to allow certainty, but perhaps X is more likely to be right. N omits 3.11.58, which FLPZ give without 'timuit' and only vmrusc present as generally read (apart from modern conjectures) in current editions. In both cases it might be

urged that the deviation of vmrusc from FLPZ is due to conjecture, but this argument can have little weight at 2.22.50, where the supposed 'conjecture' makes no more sense than the paradosis. Probably 'plura' is a piece of genuine tradition; perhaps 'timuit' is as well, but one cannot be quite so certain. In treating the question it is useful to distinguish omissions of whole lines from those of parts of lines. The partial omissions occur for the most part exactly where one expects them, at the beginning and the end of the line; some omissions of whole lines are also subject to mechanical explanations - each case must be judged individually. It is worth noting that the omissions of entire lines are concentrated in three consecutive poems, 3.9-11; the copyist could simply have been hastening to finish at the end of a long day.

If X and N share a common hyparchetype, the agreement of X with the Petrarchan family enables the editor to eliminate errors of N and to establish more securely the text of the archetype. For instance, the agreement of X and the descendants of A at 4.9.47 shows that 'sinonia,' not 'symonia' (N), was in the archetype. Their agreement where choice is difficult can sometimes tip the scale against a reading of N which editors now automatically accept, such as 2.29.8 'iam' or 4.11.13 'non' (XA have 'nam' and 'num' respectively). Sometimes X helps to settle the precise relationship of the readings of the manuscripts. At 2.30.30 the correct 'uolarit' is found first in v; N, with 'uolari,' seems closest to this, while FPZ mrusc give 'uolaret' and L has its own error 'uolares.' Either X, like N, had 'uolari' and Panormita conjectured 'uolarit,' while the scribes of mrusc adopted 'uolaret' from F, or X had 'uolaret,' which will be the text of the archetype, and Panormita easily conjectured 'uolarit': 'uolari' in N, rather than being closer to the archetype than the other manuscripts, will be only an error based upon misreading an abbreviation ('uolar;' = 'uolaret' taken for 'uolari'). If vmrusc elsewhere reflect X accurately, certain other disputed readings of N, such as 2.32.33 'fertur,' must be errors or interpolations. Agreement of NX against A, however, still leaves the editor to choose between two readings of equal authority. This chapter concludes with further examples of the help forthcoming from vmrusc.

X preserved the reading of the archetype in some cases where it was corrupted or 'corrected' in N and A. At 3.6.3 'non' in N and 'dum' in FLPZ imply 'num' in the archetype; mrus read 'num,' while vc have taken 'dum' from F. More substantial assistance comes at 3.8.13, which N FLPZ transmit as 'custodum gregibus circa se stipat euntem.' E. Wistrand in *Miscellanea Propertiana* (Göteborg 1977) 63-4 has shown that this is corrupt and argues that Postgate's 'grege seu' should be adopted

for 'gregibus.' X appears to have read 'gregis' (so mru: sc have 'gregi,' c with the interpolation 'custodumque,' and v has adopted 'gregibus' from F). Arguably 'gregis' is a corruption inherited from the archetype which was replaced in N and A by the interpolation 'gregibus' to repair the metre; if this is right, 'gregis' may point to 'grege si' as the correct restoration.

X again helps establish the text of the archetype at 3.9.11. N ends the line 'poscit Apelles,' which is doubtless what Propertius wrote. P also has this, apparently from conjecture, since FLZ^{ac} give 'posita pelles' (presumably from 'posit apelles'). The descendants of X disagree: mu have 'poscit apelles,' vrs 'ponit apelles,' and c omits the words. Despite the testimony of mu, X did not read 'poscit,' for c would not have omitted it; for the same reason it did not read 'ponit.' It may well have had 'posit Apelles'; if this is not a conjunctive error of AX, then it would appear to have been the reading of the archetype, independently altered by the scribes of N P mu to 'poscit.'

More significant help comes again at 3.5.35 'cur serus uersare boues et plaustra Bootes.' Controversy has centred upon whether the apparently correct 'plaustra Bootes,' known to editors as the reading of DVVo, represents independent tradition or humanist conjecture. Shackleton Bailey remarks that 'this remains a strong, certainly the strongest, reason for allowing D and its congeners some independent authority'; this 'independent authority' has here been inherited from v. X probably read 'plaustra boones,' found in mru; this is not an error peculiar to them, since v^{mg} also apparently reads 'boones' (the *s* has been cut away by a binder); v^{t}sc give 'plaustra Bootes' ('boetes' v^{t}), an easy correction of it. Some have hesitated to accept this reading because the other branches of the tradition give significantly divergent readings, both with 'flamma.' Thus Rothstein, starting from the 'seros ... flamma boon' of N, conjectured 'cur seros uersare boues it flamma Bootae' ('Booti' Havet) and Leo, from 'flamma palustra' in the A tradition, proposed 'cur serus uersare boues et flammea plostra'; neither conjecture is idiomatic or plausible. The readings of the major witnesses can be explained as follows (a modified version of the argument proposed by Housman at *CR* 9 [1894] 28). The exemplar of the archetype read 'plaustra boones' (or perhaps 'boon'). The scribe of the archetype miscopied this as 'flamma boones' (the confusion is not difficult in minuscule script), then he or a corrector added 'plaustra' from the exemplar above the line (the example of 4.2.34, already discussed, establishes that the archetype was corrected from its exemplar). The readings of the three branches can be explained in a manner consistent

with their response to other corrections of the archetype. Arguably X preserved the condition of the archetype, and all of its descendants independently incorporated the correction (alternatively, X itself may have incorporated it); again N ignored the correction; again the scribe of A incorporated it incorrectly, ousting the nonsensical 'boones' in favour of the recognizable 'plaustra' (the spelling 'palustra' being a desperate expedient to save the metre). 'Plaustra Bootes' is a Renaissance conjecture but apparently correct.

Further help from X comes at 4.8.69, given by N FLPZ and all modern editions in the form 'eruitur, geniumque meum protractus adorat' (Cynthia has discovered the slave Lygdamus hiding behind a couch and drags him out for punishment). This is tautologous; Lygdamus is dragged out ('eruitur') and, having been dragged forth ('protractus'), supplicates. Hence the early conjecture (found first in v) 'exuitur'; but this makes Propertius say that Lygdamus is stripped for punishment before he is dragged into the open. Propertius wrote 'prostratus,' read by vmrus. This, however, is a conjecture and not the reading of X, because c reads 'prolatus'; it is inconceivable that Leto should have preferred this pallid conjecture of his own if the old manuscript that he was copying read the eminently satisfying 'prostratus.' Just as certainly, X did not read 'protractus'; it is easy enough to guess that it (and the archetype) had 'protratus,' of which medieval orthography readily made 'protractus.' If the archetype read 'protratus,' then the editor has an easy choice between the conjectures 'protractus' and 'prostratus' (cf Seneca *Tro* 710 'stratus adora').

Finally, to return to 2.30.19, where N reads 'non tamen immerito' against 'nunc (tu) dura paras' in the Petrarchan manuscripts ('tu' appears to have been added by the source of LP to correct the metre). Now mruc agree with the unmetrical version of FZ, and vs give their own correction of it, 'nunc iam dura paras,' except that s first omitted the entire line in a blank space, then supplied the version of v after correction. The paradosis can be explained by either of two hypotheses. X might have read 'nunc dura paras'; s at first omitted the line because it will not scan (cf the case of 3.11.19 discussed above). X could not have read 'non tamen immerito' because there would be no reason for this, which does scan, to be replaced by the unmetrical 'nunc dura paras.' On the other hand, X might have read nothing before the caesura, giving only 'Phrygias nunc ire per undas'; this would better explain why s took the unusually drastic step of omitting the entire line. On this theory X will again have reproduced the text of the archetype, and both 'non tamen immerito' and 'nunc dura paras' will be interpolations, the

latter having been introduced into X by contamination. Since unmetrical readings are less likely to be introduced by conjecture, the first explanation may be more plausible. On neither theory can the reading of N have been that of X, of the common exemplar of N and X, or the archetype.[28]

ADDENDUM: SOME CLOSE DESCENDANTS OF v

The enormous influence exerted by X upon the fifteenth-century tradition will be a major theme of the following four chapters; this addendum will consider a few rather barren descendants of its most fertile copy, v.

Ravenna Bibl Classense 277, written perhaps at Spello (Umbria) in 1459, is especially close; that it reads 'hioa' at 2.28.53 sufficiently establishes its pedigree. The scribe (who may be the Baptista of Spello whose name appears in the genitive case and in Greek letters on f90v) included two epigrams addressed to the minor humanist Antonio Tridentone of Parma, one by his teacher Niccolò Volpi, one by a Jacobus Bononiensis. The author of the second is not indicated in Ravenna 277 but is known from another copy of the two epigrams in Vat lat 1612; Volpi, however, is identified in Ravenna 277. Probably the poems were originally inscribed by their authors in a copy of Propertius and Tibullus belonging to Tridentone. He (who once copied a Livy for Volpi) perhaps wrote the manuscript himself, then sent it to his teacher and to a fellow pupil (?) for annotation; Volpi's poem follows Tibullus (as intended, since it was obviously meant to accompany a text of that author), Jacobus' follows Propertius.[29] Tridentone's copy has apparently not survived, but this could be a descendant. Perhaps Tridentone got his copy of Panormita's Propertius through their mutual friend Giovanni Lamola, who long resided in Bologna, where Tridentone was associated with Volpi at least from 1441 to 1450.[30] Tridentone or Volpi might be responsible for some conjectures and interpolations which first appear in this manuscript, including:

1.1.23	amnes) ignes
11.20	timoris) timentis
20.8	Aniena) Amerina
48	rapto) lapso
2.2.8	pectore) pectine
20.12	transiliamque) statiliamque
28.53	Troia) Hiona (based on *hioa*)
34.41	desine et Aeschyleo) d. Achilleo

Most are repeated in Brit Libr Egerton 3027, copied in 1467

at Perugia, not far from Spello (cf chapter 8); Scaliger used Egerton 3027 for his edition of 1577, and certain conjectures which he took from it, some derived in turn from Ravenna 277, now pass under his name.

Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1370 (a Roman manuscript of the third quarter of the century, according to Dr de la Mare) is certainly derived from v and repeats its lengthy title exactly apart from the displacement of 'Incipit' to after 'Feliciter.' It agrees with Ravenna 277 in 'ignes' at 1.1.23 but in none of the other readings listed above. At 2.25.15 it reads 'obsita tegitur' for 'obsistam teritur' with Genoa E.III.29 and a group of early descendants of v to be discussed in chapter 4 (section 2) as the main channel for readings of v in the humanistic tradition, a group of which Ravenna 277 appears independent. The situation is complicated or clarified by Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1550, another close descendant of v, written perhaps as early as the second quarter of the century. It reads 'ignes' at 1.1.23 but also agrees with Genoa E.III. 29 and its close relations in omitting 'fulcro' at 2.13.21. That the Ravenna copy and the two Ottoboniani might derive from a common source is suggested by their further agreement in such readings as 'facis' for 'soles' at 1.13.1 and 'formosa' for 'formica' at 3.13.5. The affinity of the two Ottoboniani with the family of Genoa E.III.29 suggests that they and Ravenna 277 might form a single line of descent from one copy of v, while Genoa E.III.29 et al form a second, more corrupt one from the same copy. Conceivably the Ottoboniani and Ravenna 277 all derive from Tridentone's copy; the distinctive readings of Ravenna 277, if his conjectures, were perhaps ignored by the other copyists. Another manuscript, formerly at the convent of Monteripido in Perugia but now known only through a nineteenth-century catalogue, appears from its *incipit* to have been closely affiliated with v, Ravenna 277, and the Ottoboniani (number 145 in the catalogue of manuscripts). Tridentone probably took his copy back to Parma; the Monteripido codex, written on parchment, was perhaps another copy of it or even the source (Lamola's copy?) of the Ottoboniani and Ravenna 277.

NOTES

1 Ullman 289-90; Ferguson 1-2. A misunderstanding of such theories apparently lies behind the curious suggestion of Hanslik (vi) that Poggio may have taken N to Naples and to San Giovanni.

2 Ullman 290; S. Rizzo *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome 1973) 147-64, where the identification is used in a

discussion of Poliziano's terminology for dating manuscripts.

3 'Eboralistria,' an easy corruption of 'choralistria,' also appears in the unrelated Salamanca BU 85, discussed in chapter 4.

4 Conceivably some clue to the identity of this scholar lies in the initial that concludes the note on 4.7.37 'credo aliquid deficere aut testum incorrectum .g.'.

5 For the history of the library of S Giovanni see D. Gutiérrez 'La biblioteca di San Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli' *Analecta Augustiniana* 29 (1966) 59-212. The question of what copies of Propertius are listed in the inventory of ca 1570 printed by Gutiérrez seems more problematical to me than to him. *Ordo LXXIII*us there includes the following (the numbers below are Gutiérrez' addition):

1571 Catullus manuscriptus
1572 Propertius
1573 Catullus cum Antonii Panthenii et una
1574 Tibullus cum Bernardini Veronensis ac
1575 Propertius cum Antonii Volsci commentario
1576 Ovidius de arte amandi ac remedio amoris cum Bartolomaei Merulae commentario
1577 Saphus epistola ac
1578 Hermaphroditi pigrammata
1579 Panormitae carmina ac quaedam alia manuscripta
1580 Catullus cum Palladii Fusci ac Antonii Panthenii et una
1581 Tibullus cum Bernardini Veronensis
1582 Propertius cum Antonii Volsci commentario

If N came ultimately from Parrasio and was collated in this library in the seventeenth century, it ought to appear in this inventory. Gutiérrez, however, suggests that 1571, 1572, and 1577-1579 are parts of Naples BN IV.F.19, which contains all these texts in this order (with the addition of Tibullus between Catullus and Propertius) and has the ex-libris of Antonio Seripandi; this leaves no place for N. Gutiérrez explains neither the absence of Tibullus nor how two printed editions (1573-1575 and 1576) have come to separate the parts of this single manuscript; it cannot be because IV.F.19 originally existed as two separate codices, since Propertius ends and the Epistle of Sappho begins within the same gathering. The text of the inventory could be faulty. Items 1573-1575 are certainly a single printed book, and the three poets were printed together with those commentaries in Venice in 1487-8. It is not immediately clear whether 1580-1582 represent one

printed book or two. Sources on incunabula list a single edition containing both Fuscus' and Parthenius' commentaries on Catullus, printed by Zuan Tacuino in Venice in 1500 (Hain 4766); it also includes Tibullus, but Tibullus comes first in the volume. It includes Propertius as well, with Beroaldus' commentary; 1582 is probably a separate volume. Thus either 1573-1575 or 1580-1582 may be corrupt in the inventory; perhaps one is a false doublet of the other. Although I have no simple solution to offer, I suspect that 1572 might be N, that 1571 is the Catullus of IV.F.19 (self-contained in three gatherings), and that the Tibullus and Propertius found in IV.F.19 have been lost in the inventory behind 1573-1575.

6 These metrical interpolations could, however, have been made in an intermediate copy rather than in N itself if, as will be implied below, N was not copied directly from the archetype.

7 Enk was the last editor to adopt the version of the Petrarchan mss at 2.3.27 and 2.34.23. Camps does not mention the problem at all; Richardson, referring to Housman, follows the A tradition at 2.3.27 but N at 2.34.23, without explanation; Giardina rejects Housman's argument in a note on 2.3.27 ('Mihi quidem consensu N Vo contra ceteros plerumque fides antiquissimi archetypi praestari, consensu D V (si non et F P) nihil certum sincerumque probari omnino uidetur') which leaves the arguments from metrical practice unanswered.

8 The relevant passages are in *Poggii epistulae* ed Tonelli. First, 3.12 (17 May 1427): 'Propertium ad te misissem, sed nescio quis post reditum meum ueniens domum, ac libros uoluens, cum in illum incidisset, petiit eum paucos dies a me sibi concedi legendum: sed nec ille reddidit librum, et quisnam fuerit omnino excidit ex memoria. Denique cum omnes notos rogarim: heus tu, habesne Propertium meum? singuli negarent; uereor igitur, ne hic bonus poeta alio migrauerit, et cum uir sit lasciuus, noluerit habitare in domo casta. Sed si redierit, dabo operam, ne eum pudeat penes me esse, aut causam habeat abeundi.' Second, 3.13 (31 May 1427): 'Propertius rediit ad nos; eum ad te mittam, cum primum aliquis dabitur, qui ferat.' It is clear from 'misissem' in the earlier letter that the Propertius had been discussed previously. Niccoli already owned a copy of F made for him by Poggio about two decades before (Florence Bibl Laurenziana San Marco 690, on which see chapter 2, addendum); either scholar might have realized that the new manuscript offered a very much better text. If Poggio's manuscript was copied in Rome, descendants seem not to survive, unless Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1370 is one (written

in Rome about 1460-70); see however the addendum to this chapter.

9 'On present evidence, then, all the copies of Manilius and *Siluae*, with the possible exception of Holk. 331, could have been made in Florence after Poggio finally settles there in 1453, and it can hardly be an accident that the tradition of Silius was rejuvenated in Florence at about the same time' (M.D. Reeve 'Statius' *Silvae* in the Fifteenth Century' *CQ* ns 27 [1977] 223). Mr Reeve has informed me that, according to Delz, two copies of Silius may have been made in Switzerland; this, of course, does not affect the general validity of the statement.

10 One expects that Niccoli made a transcript himself; it will be suggested later that certain manuscripts might derive from this hypothetical copy.

11 For the activity of Panormita in these years see G. Resta in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 7 (Rome 1965) 400-6; he spent the last months of 1427 in Florence before moving on to Rome in 1428 (where he had a second opportunity to see Poggio's Propertius). Further evidence that Panormita copied and owned v comes from its text of the Elegy. Line 19 contains the form 'retulit' for 'rettulit,' and in v the word is written in capitals in the text, written over in red ink, and written again in red capitals in the margin. It is based upon a false reading in Lucretius 6.672, where modern editions give 'tetulerunt' rather than 'retulerunt.' Panormita's pride in using the form is revealed both by the display in v and by a note in Vat lat 3276, a Lucretius that he annotated in the 1440s; on f191v at 6.672 he records 'RETULIT. prima syllaba breui. quod nos secuti in Elegia.' The hand that annotated the Lucretius is the same that copied v.

12 This is the meaningless 'hauripe' for 'haurire' at 1.20.43; Pontano's Propertius and a direct copy that also reads 'hauripe' will be discussed in chapter 4.

13 For him see Ullman *Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome 1960) 119 and pl64; Ullman thought that this was the same as the more famous Antonio Sinibaldi, but the writing of the two is not similar.

14 Thomson 33-5

15 The San Marco inventory of ca 1500 printed by Stadter and Ullman (chapter 2, note 16) lists one Catullus and one Propertius, of which the latter can plausibly be identified as Bibl Laur S Marco 690; if the library ever contained copies in Niccoli's hand, they must have been removed before this inventory was made.

16 Of course *c* and *e* are perpetually confused in minuscule scripts, but Niccoli cultivated a form of *e* that is

particularly subject to confusion with *c* since it appears to have no cross-bar; he also employed an extremely narrow *a* which could be confused with *i* (note 'anni' in the fourth line of pl 33 in Ullman *Origin and Development*).

17 Since no manuscript available in Florence at the time makes the divisions, someone must have separated them by conjecture, easily enough in view of the disparate subject matter. The poems are divided in mruc; s, however, has no title or decorated initial for 2.10, and labels 2.11 'Sequitur cum superiori.'

18 To be explained similarly is 3.12.14 'sic redeunt' v: 'si credunt' N c: 'si credent' FLPZ mrus. X and the archetype doubtless had 'si credẽnt.' N again ignored the correction, A again incorporated it incorrectly; only Panormita understood it, and corrected the wrong division as well.

19 This conjecture was anticipated by I. Voss in unpublished annotations contained in a copy of the 1600 reprint of Scaliger's edition in the University Library at Leiden (758.F.3) and still earlier by some member of the Roman Academy who annotated Vat lat 1612 about 1480 (not, however, the Gaspar Manius who also annotated the manuscript).

20 *Miscellanea* (Florence 1489) c81

21 Poliziano mentions this in an addition to the subscription after Propertius in the 1472 de Spira edition that he annotated (Rome Bibl Corsiniana 50 F 37): 'Propertium cum uetusto codice contulimus sed quae de illo nobis sumpsimus haut ascripsimus huic codici, sed in illo libello rettulimus, qui est inscriptus: Antiquarum emendationum.' There is no reason to think that this is not the same as the codex of Valla mentioned in the *Miscellanea*; one wonders how many valuable readings not preserved by vmrusc this collation might have offered.

22 The subscription is cited here from Florence Bibl Riccardiana Edizioni rare 372, generally accepted as Puccius' autograph (so, most recently, B. Richardson 'Pucci, Parrasio, and Catullus,' *IMU* 19 [1976] 277-89). The script, however, does not match known specimens of Puccius' writing, and Puccius' autograph, if it survives, remains to be discovered; see my 'Pontanus, Puccius, Pocchus, Petreius, and Propertius' *Res Publica Litterarum* 3 (1980) 5-9.

23 A Bernardinus de Valle Bassus appears as addressee of a poem in Perugia Bibl Augusta J 72 (Kristeller *Iter Italicum* II 59); very likely it is the same man, whose first name is commonly misspelt by scholars.

24 Four autograph letters were published in T. de Marinis and A. Perosa, *Nuovi documenti per la storia del Rinascimento* (Florence 1970) 30-6, one reproduced in tav6; all were written in Rome in 1484, the year in which Poliziano saw his Propertius.

25 Rizzo (see note 2 above); her conclusions on the significance of 'uetustus' are based upon a large sampling of identified manuscripts and the subtraction of N does not affect their validity.

26 It has been observed already that Puccius' autograph appears not to survive. The readings listed here are again taken from the Riccardiana copy; three of them (2.30.34, 2.32.58, 2.34.12) seem to be in a different hand from most of the notes.

27 This line might be valuable stemmatically if we could be more certain of what Propertius wrote. Jacob's 'a parco' is the most attractive by far and most widely accepted conjecture; if it is right, then the archetype probably read 'aporco,' and 'aprico,' which some editors (including Lachmann) formerly adopted, is a separative error of X (the use of a suprascript vowel to indicate that vowel and *r* aids such confusions; cf 2.34.43, where the Petrarchan manuscripts give 'terno,' 'trino,' and 'turno' for 'torno'; if this is the source of the error, then it confirms a later Carolingian script for X). If Passerat's 'a prisco' is right, then 'aprico' is the reading of the archetype and 'aporco' a conjunctive error of NA, but the conjecture is less likely to be right than Jacob's. If neither is right, then we remain in the dark.

28 An elaborate literary interpretation which depends upon the reading of N in this line has been offered by F. Cairns 'Propertius, 2.30 A and B' *CQ* 65 (1971) 204-13. Conceivably one could try to defend the text of N by suggesting that 'nunc dura paras' is a fragment of some marginal comment, but it would require special pleading to explain how it came to replace 'non tamen immerito' in some manuscripts. If both phrases appeared in the archetype and thence in X, we might expect v, at least, to have preserved both readings.

29 The poems are as follows:

> Incipit a teneris nimio succensus amore
> Qui uenerem inclusam iure Tibullus habet.
> Hic docet egregias generoso carmine mentes:
> Hunc et Nasonem turba procax celebrat.

And:

> Qui nostras placido es solatus carmine curas,
> Ad dominum redeas, culte libelle, tuum:
> Cui postquam cupidis carum te exceperit ulnis
> Tu grates nostro nomine mille refer.

Vat Lat 1612 gives them together, in the opposite order, at the end of Propertius and identifies Tridentone in the

margin as addressee of both; eg 'A. Tridentoni Iacobus Bonon.' A third copy of Volpi's poem in Göttingen philol 111[b] (see note 30 below and chapter 5) follows Tibullus and reads 'Explicit' for 'Incipit'; the hand that wrote it probably belongs to another Volpi pupil (below, p 119f) who can have inscribed it no earlier than 1456. Perhaps this is a copy of Volpi's copy; neither the Göttingen nor the Ravenna manuscript ever belonged to him, as suggested respectively by Ullman (299) and Sabbadini (*SIFC* 7 [1899] 106). There is a further discussion by Zicàri in *Studia Oliveriana* 4-5 (1956-7) 145-62.

30 The evidence for Tridentone's association with Lamola is a letter of Lamola to Antonio's father dated 1 November 1440, which reads, in part, 'Antonio autem tuo, immo pocius nostro ... patet domus nostra, patent et omnia nostra quecunque ea sint' (Brit Libr Arundel 70, ff 20v-21v). Volpi too knew Lamola, and refers in a letter of 1446 to his return from Venice to Bologna and an attack of a serious illness ('grauiter infirmatus'; Vat lat 3908, f85). Tridentone knew Volpi as early as January 1441, when he witnessed the sale of a house for 'egregius uir dominus Nicolaus filius commendabilis uiri Triuisani a Vulpe de Vicentia' (L. Frati 'Di Nicolò Volpe (Appunti biografici)' *Studi e memorie per la storia dell' Università di Bologna* 9 [1926] 201f). Volpi and the Bolognese Jacobus suggest that the epigrams in Ravenna 277 were composed before Tridentone left Bologna to establish himself in the Roman Curia; that occurred in 1450, according to a letter of Tridentone, dated 1470, in Florence Bibl Riccardiana 834 f36 ('annus agitur xxi ex quo in Romana curia mansitaui'). (Affò-Pezzana *Memorie degli scrittori e letterati permigiani* [Parma 1833] II 259-63 and VI 202-7 give conflicting information. Affò asserts that Tridentone was in Rome in 1445, taught in Bologna in 1454-6, and returned to Parma in 1470; Pezzana more plausibly makes him a student in Bologna during 1442-5 and refers to a letter written in Bologna in 1449, though he suggests that the date should be 1445.) If Tridentone emended Propertius in the 1440s, then the early date makes it desirable to establish which manuscripts contain the results. Vat lat 1612, which also contains the epigrams for Tridentone, will be discussed in chapter 6; it derives from v somewhat differently and is affiliated with a family whose earliest representatives are gZ, respectively a Bolognese (?) copy of 1456 (which also contains Volpi's epigram; see note 29) and a Paduan of 1453. Temporally and geographically this harmonizes well with Tridentone's presence in Bologna before 1450, but it becomes difficult to explain how the epigrams found their

way into Ravenna 277. It is perhaps more likely that Ravenna 277 is a copy of Tridentone's manuscript which Tridentone took with him to Rome, whence the scribe or owner of Vat lat 1612 took them when that manuscript was copied in 1470 (Tridentone's presence in Rome in that year has already been established). The attribution of the Jacobus epigram, lacking in Ravenna 277, at least shows that Vat lat 1612 did not take the poems from Ravenna 277. So does the fact that, while Ravenna 277 nowhere mentions Tridentone, Vat lat 1612 is well aware of him, heading Jacobus' poem 'Vale Tridentine' and identifying Tridentone in the margin as addressee of both. If this hypothesis is correct, then the Ravenna manuscript (which also made its way to Rome eventually) is likely to be a copy of a copy of Tridentone's codex that was made before his departure from Bologna. The decade of Livy which Tridentone copied for Volpi is mentioned in a letter of Volpi dated 17 January 1447 (Vat lat 3908, f111). He tells his correspondent that it will be 'emendatissima,' thanks to Tridentone: 'nosti enim quam bene intelligat'; thus it is reasonable to expect corrections in his Propertius. The Livy was perhaps a fine copy on parchment, since Volpi mentions already having paid eight *ducatus* (zecchini) for it, a price that elsewhere (Vat lat 3908, f83) he denounces as extortionary for a paper manuscript of Valla's *Elegantiae* - 'is qui habet eum, uidens hunc librum esse rarum in nostris partibus, petit ex eo octo ducatus, et est in chartis papyreis. uellem expendere ducatus iii, si fieri posset, uel iii cum dimidio.'

4

The Earlier Humanistic Tradition

The A tradition was available to Italian scholars from the middle of the fourteenth century; before 1400, however, perhaps only Petrarch and Salutati consulted it. By the end of the second quarter of the fifteenth century six representatives can be traced: Petrarch's, F, San Marco 690, L, P, and the common exemplar of the last two. Petrarch's copy probably remained in Padua; L was perhaps already in Milan or Pavia; Florence had at least three of the other four (only about the location of the exemplar of LP is there any doubt). Circulation remained geographically restricted until Poggio made available a much better text. Its direct influence can be traced only about 1427, when it was sent to Niccoli in Florence, and again from the 1450s, when Poggio returned to Florence. The three sections of this chapter will review members of three families that originated in the second quarter of the century from the interaction of these two traditions, first in Florence, then in Milan and Ferrara, and finally throughout the peninsula south to Naples.

1 One early group, principally Florentine but later current in northern Italy, derives almost exclusively from X. Its oldest representative is Parma Bibl Palatina 140, a Florentine manuscript of about 1430-40 whose scribe has been identified by Dr de la Mare as Johannes Andreae de Colonia; its date gives a valuable *terminus ante quem* for the formation of the family. Nearest Parma 140 in fidelity is the *codex Lusaticus* much discussed at the turn of the century, now Wrocław Bibl Univ AKC 1948 KN 197, corrected in Padua in 1469 by Johannes Mendel and perhaps written there in the same year or not long before; slightly less faithful is Bibl Vat Capp 196, written at some time past mid-century. Their close relationship to each other is established by a number of shared errors, among them:

1.13.15 Haemonio) hemonido
20.22 tegit) regit
2.1.46 ea) eo
9.52 morte) mortem
10.18 tuas) tua
13.7 magis) magna
56 diceris) diceres
26.1 uidi te) u. ego t.
27.1 mortales) mortalis
28.25 properarint) properauit
27 narrabis) narrabit
31.5 equidem) quidem
32.3 dubias) dubius
5 esseda) essedra
43 [unde] dedit) ledit
61 imitata) mutata (not Lus.)
34.48 haeserit) heseris
3.5.17 Iro) hero
22.18 ubique) ubi
4.1.65 quisquis) asis siquis
118 quam) qua
6.37 o *om*
7.53 fallo) uallo
11.17 non noxia) innoxia

From the same source, more corrected, descends Florence Bibl Laur pl.33,15, a late and corrupt copy which eventually deserts this group for a member of the family to be discussed below in part 2, almost certainly Salamanca BU 85.[1] In the earlier part of the text its affiliation with this family is clear from its agreement in the errors of the list above at 1.13.15, 2.1.46, 2.10.18, 2.13.7, 2.26.1, 2.27.1, 2.28.27, 2.31.5, 2.32.5, 2.32.43, 2.32.61, 2.34.48, (3.5.17 'hyrco'), 4.1.65. Two rather late Florentine copies that derive from the same source after correction are associated by errors of their own, Florence Bibl Riccardiana 633 and Modena Bibl Estense Camp app 1418 (γ.X.5.30), the latter corrected extensively by Lorenzo Lippi.[2] These reproduce the errors of their source at 1.20.22, 2.13.7, 2.26.1, 2.27.1, 2.28.27, 2.31.5, 2.32.3, 2.32.5, 2.34.48, 3.5.17, 4.1.65, 4.1.118, 4.7.53, 4.11.17. From the same source further or differently corrected derive three complete and two partial copies. Florence Bibl Laur pl.38,36 (written about 1450-60) and Florence BN Magl VII 1162 (written in 1463 during a stay at Anghiari, near Arezzo, by the minor Florentine scholar Piero Compagni) are certainly Florentine in origin; the third complete copy, Milan Bibl Ambrosiana H 34 sup, is of uncertain provenance and date. The partial descendants are Florence Bibl Laur pl. 38,37, which has taken its text of most of Book 4 from this

group, and Florence BN Magl VII 1053, which is affiliated with it as far as 2.24; both will be discussed again in part 2. Among these Ambros H 34 sup. is particularly close to the common source and seems also to be close to pl.38,37 and Magl VII 1162, as the following agreements in Book 4 show (unless, of course, these are only errors of the source corrected in the other copies):

4.1.86 quid) qui
6.1 icta) uicta
7.44 sentit) fregit
9.10 partitos) patricios
11.100 grata) cara

The corrections of F4 come from some member of this group.[3]

A non-Florentine family can be traced to the same source. Probably its earliest representative (ca 1450?) is Carpentras Bibl Inguimbertine 361, which belonged at an early date to the Venetian patrician Marco Donato; it may have been the exemplar of Bologna BU 2740, written about 1460. The miserably copied Bibl Vat Pal lat 910 (written 1467 or later) is apparently related. Florence BN Baldovinetti 213 (copied in 1468, probably in Bologna, by one 'Io. Piz.') derives from some relative of Carpentras 361 which has been extensively corrected from another manuscript affiliated with Vicenza G.2.8. 12 (on which see chapter 6); the manuscript which earlier supplied corrections and variants became the exemplar around 4.7. All four of these manuscripts agree in such errors and interpolations as:

1.1.11 amens) demens
25 sero) sacra
2.22 Apelleis) apollineis
12.7 gratus) paratus
20.2 id) is
2.2.16 saecula) tempora
3.19 Aeolio) aonio
12.9 hamatis) auratis
13.42 ad uerum) a(d)uersi

The position of Baldovinetti 213 can be illustrated from 2.32.14, where Carpentras 361 and Bologna 2740 give 'cum' for 'quaeque'; 'quaecumque,' the reading of Baldovinetti 213, implies an exemplar in which 'cum' was corrected with a suprascript 'quaeque' or one in which 'cum' was added to 'quaeque' as a variant. The erratic copying of Pal lat 910 has already been mentioned; the kindest interpretation is that the scribe had an unclear exemplar, very poor eyesight, and a too vivid

imagination. The corruption of 'mollis' (probably written 'molis') at 2.1.2 to 'indis' exemplifies his powers of transmogrification. The following examples from Book 4 suggest that his text was particularly close to Carpentras 361:

4.1.3 atque) at
43 cum) tam
6.37 mox) non
73 prelis) praedia
7.30 lentius) laetius
39 publica) pulpita
59 parta O) pacta
8.26 erasas) crassas
87 atque) ast
11.33 mox) nox Pal 910: nos Carp 361
63 meum) mecum Carp 361: metum Pal 910
84 tace O) tuae

The sources on which the source of all these manuscripts depended are most readily traced in the earliest family, Parma 140, Capp 196, and the Lusaticus. The principal strain was some descendant of X. At 4.1.65 the reading 'asis siquis' resulted from combining the text and gloss known to have been present in X; among errors of X found in all or most of these manuscripts may be cited, for instance, the failure to begin a new elegy at 2.27.1, 'facit' for 'fecit' at 2.29.18, 'och-int(h)ia' at 2.32.3, 'amitto' at 2.34.16, and 'Aenea' for 'Aeneae' at 2.34.63. A far less important source was some descendant of Petrarch's manuscript, which supplied such readings as 'brachide' for 'brachia' at 2.1.63 and 'exuuii stantis' at 4.11.43. Both sources can perhaps be identified more precisely. Among the surviving descendants of X we can eliminate as the X source both s and c, which are too late; v, though sufficiently early, must also be eliminated, since at 2.30.19 it gives one correction of the probable reading of X ('nunc dura paras') while Parma 140 and the Lusaticus give another, of which Ambros H 34 sup gives a variant ('nunc iam dura paras' v: 'nunc qui dura paras' Parma 140, Lus: 'quid nunc dira paras' H 34 sup). The common source of mru, however, remains a possible candidate, since it retained the corruption of X; Parma 140 and Capponi 196 also read 'nutrit' at 3.13.5 with mru. At 4.1.31 N and X give 'soloni,' FLPZ 'coloni'; mru read 'seloni,' which could be a slip for 'soloni' or could derive from a misunderstood reading '$\overset{c}{s}$oloni,' the *c* being taken for an *e* and substituted for *o*. The source of Parma 140, Capponi 196, and the Lusaticus must have had something similar; Parma 140 reads '$\overset{e}{s}$oloni,' and 'scoloni' in Capponi 196 implies '$\overset{c}{s}$oloni' (if X did not contain this

variant, it too can be eliminated). If this suggested connection is valid, then the early date of Parma 140 requires an early date for the source of mru, and one might seek to derive thence some support for the suggestion that the source of mru was a copy of X made by Niccoli in 1427. The possibility that these manuscripts preserve readings of X not found in vmrusc is a tantalizing one probably not susceptible of proof; the reflection that their number could surely not be large offers some consolation. As the Petrarchan source of Parma 140 and its congeners we can eliminate Z, which is too late, and F, whose distinctive errors are entirely absent. Certain readings confined to LP (eg 2.30.26 'tedere,' 3.1.11 'nectantur,' 4.7.72 'choridos') suggest that one of them or their common exemplar is the Petrarchan source. P was certainly in Florence at least until 1427, when it was corrected from X, and its exemplar may also have been in the city. The fact that P is connected with Niccoli and his circle may favour its candidacy.

2 The widespread influence of X and v on the fifteenth-century tradition has already been mentioned. Perhaps its most significant channel was a copy of v that began to produce appreciable numbers of descendants chiefly in Ferrara in the second quarter of the century. It is tempting to suspect a connection with Panormita's friend Giovanni Aurispa, who was in Florence at about the time that v was copied and moved soon after to Ferrara, where he lived until his death in 1459.[4] This might be confirmed by a series of letters, which Sabbadini thought were written by Aurispa in Florence in 1427, whose author had a 'Propertius emendatissimus' for sale.[5] The three fundamental early witnesses to this tradition are Genoa BU E.III.29, Florence BN Magl VII 1053, and Cambridge, Univ Libr Add 3394 (to be called GSC respectively in the following discussion). G is the earliest surviving descendant of v; it now begins at 2.8.20 and probably contained only Propertius. The evidence of script and decoration assigns it unambiguously to Florence and the period ca 1430-40. On the last folio, however, a hand of the sixteenth or seventeenth century has written *MCCCCLVI Genue*; this may be a note of purchase recopied by a later owner when the flyleaf on which it appeared was lost, or perhaps a slip for *MCCCCCLVII*. S is dated 1443 and belongs to this group only from 2.24 to the end (see also part 1, p 98); a note of about 1500 identifies the Ferrarese poet Tito Vespasiano Strozzi as an owner (he might even be the scribe). C (one of the manuscripts from which Richmond sought to reconstruct his 'Insular' codex) is, according to Dr de la Mare, possibly Ferrarese and was written at some time in the second quarter of the century; it is more heavily corrupted than the

others. All of these manuscripts are free from Petrarchan readings except for F readings already present in the margins of v; they reproduce interpolations (perhaps Panormita's) first found in v, such as 1.12.19 'discedere,' 2.30.19 'nunc iam dura paras,' 2.34.53 'restauerit undas,' 4.9.70 'Herculis eximii'; and, apart from their own errors, they tend to reproduce faithfully what v offers. G is particularly close. It reproduces the original state of v at 2.9.17, unaware of two variants added by later hands ('ueris' omitted in a lacuna, with 'uiris,' the reading of X and of the archetype, in the margin), but reverses it at 4.2.30 (putting 'iura' in the text and 'uina' in the margin); agreements in minor scribal errors include 4.6.38 'augustae' (V^{ac}) and 4.8.47 'caeto' v, 'caetro' G^{ac}.

The common source of GSC must have been carelessly written; they are united by an enormous number of errors, including the following (the agreement of S is not recorded until 2.24):

2.8.27	ista) haec GC1
9.12	propositum) appositum GC
37	ista) ipsa GC
	tibi *om* GC1
39	soluite) figite GC
46	tuum) tecum GC1
10.26	Permessi) parmensi GC1
13.21	fulcro *om* GC
24.5	tam) iam GSC1 (*fort recte*)
11	pauonis) pauoni GSC
25	Lernaeas) lerneat G: leineat S
25.15	obsistam teritur) obsita tegitur GSC
17	dominae) denae GS: denae *uel* demae C1
44	utraque) ueraque GSC1
26.14	Ionii) in onii GSC
25	beatos) beatas GSC1
28.9	doluit) donuit GC: domuit S
18	Nili) niali S1: mali G: muli C1
43	pro quibus optatis) uiuam si uiuet (cf 2.28.42)
51	uobiscum est Iope uobiscum candida Tyro) u. est iopae nec proba pasiphae GS: *u om* C1 (cf 2.28.52)
29.7	unus) inquit *in* unus *male correxit* G: inquit S: iniquus C
8	arripite) accipite GSC
13	expectat) expectas GSC1
30.30	uolarit) uolaris GSC
31.6	hiare) habere GSC1
32.35	Ida) id GC1: ida *suppl* S2 *in lac*
33.3	Nilo) nigro GSC1
34.36	decipit) decidit GSC

3.1.25 abiegno) ob regno GSC
2.20 Elei) dei GSCl
3.2 qu*a* S2^{ir} quoi G: cui Cl (qui Sl?)
35 hederas) hederat G^{ac}S
5.4 bibit) uiuit GSCl
11.36 nulla) ulla GSCl
46 Mari) mori GSC
48 nomine) nemine GSCl
13.56 nutrit) nueris G: nuerit S: nutris C
22.25 lacus) lanus GSCl
4.1.30 Tatio) ratio GSCl
118 quam) quem GSC
137 blandis) blandi GSCl
138 Veneris) uenerit GSC
150 octipedis Cancri) nec mille o. caneri G^{ac}S: o. caneri G^{pc}C
2.41 fama *om* GSC
6.16 qua sinus) qua sanus Cl: quas anus S: quasanus *uel* qua sanus G
25 Nereus) leneus GSCl
67 Actius ... Phoebus) actus ... phoebi GSC
81 parcet) paret GSCl
7.26 curta) gucta SCl: gutta G
33 etiam graue *inuerso ordine* GSC
37 uersuta) uersaut Cl: uersut GS
50 mea) mei GSC
94 eris) erit GSCl
8.10 cum) quae GSCl
15-16 *om* GSCl
31 Teia) tetera GS: cetera Cl
61 illas) illa GSCl
11.29 auita) nauita GSCl
40 quique) quinque GSC
53 Vesta) ueste GSC
96 sic iuuet esse senem) uiue esse meam senem G: iuue esse mea senem S (*deest* C)
102 uehantur) uehantus G: uehantis S (*deest* C)

Probably none of the three can be eliminated as *descriptus*. It might be tempting to propose from 3.13.56 that S is a copy of G, but at 4.7.26 and 4.11.96 ('iuue') S has preserved a corruption of the source altered or further corrupted in G. From 2.29.7 one might suspect that C is a copy of G ('iniquus' the result of trying to understand the confused correction of G), but it appears again from such passages as 4.7.26 that this cannot be the case. Two features of these manuscripts' source deserve notice. One is the number of errors to be explained through the misunderstanding of corrections (eg 4.7.37

from 'uersuᵃt' or 'uersᵘata'; 4.6.25 'leneus' probably from 'leⁿreus,' the corruption of 'Nereus' having been caused by the following 'lunarat'; 3.13.56 probably from 'nuᵗeris' rather than 'nutris'); at 4.11.96 G preserves the expunction sign for deleting 'meam.' The other is the frequency with which final *s* and *t* have been confounded (2.24.25, 2.29.13, 2.30.30, 3.3.35, 3.13.56, 4.1.138, 4.7.94). Although two such confusions are confined to GS (2.24.25, 3.3.35), it does not necessarily follow that they form a distinct subgroup; it is at least as likely that C corrected. Apparently he was less tolerant than the other scribes of patent nonsense; he ignored the obviously intrusive 'nec mille' at 4.1.150 and omitted 2.28.51 because 'nec proba Pasiphae' has been anticipated from the following line (on the other hand 2.28.43, where 'uiuam si uiuet' persisted from the previous line, was not omitted, because even in its corrupted form the line makes more sense than a catalogue that lists twice the same name-epithet combination). At 3.13.56 he alone comprehended the suprascript *t* preserved by G.

These three are the most faithful descendants of their source. The others tend to show more inherited errors in the later part of the text where correction has been less heavy. The earliest (and most corrupted) of these further descendants is Salamanca BU 85, a Florentine manuscript written perhaps as early as the second quarter of the century. Among the errors of GSC listed above it shares those at 2.8.27, 2.9.12, 2.9.37 ('ipsa'), 2.9.46 (before correction), 2.25.15, 2.25.44, 2.28.9 ('domuit'), 2.30.30, 2.31.6, 2.32.35, 3.11.46, 3.11.48, 3.13.56 ('nuerit'), 4.1.30, 4.2.41, 4.6.25, 4.6.67 ('phebi'), 4.7.26. Many others could be enumerated. Probably another manuscript supplied corrections; it is also possible, but difficult to prove, that Salamanca 85 and GSC represent two branches of descent from a common source and that errors of GSC absent from Salamanca 85 are not errors of the common source but only of a single branch of its descendants. The hypothesis may be plausible in view of the early date of Salamanca 85, but in practical terms it means little. Perhaps next in date is Bibl Vat Vat lat 3272, copied in Rome in the third quarter of the century. It shares the errors of GSC listed above at 2.8.27, 2.9.12, 2.9.37 (omission of 'tibi'), 2.9.46, 2.25.15, 2.25.44, 2.26.14, 2.26.25, 2.30.30, 2.31.6, 2.33.3 (before correction), (3.2.20 'idei,' an interpolation based upon 'dei'), 3.11.46, 3.13.56 ('nuerit'), 4.1.30, (4.2.41 'uis' interpolated for 'fama'), 4.6.25, 4.6.81, 4.7.26 ('gucta'), 4.7.50 ('uersu'), 4.8.15-16, (4.8.61 'illaque' to repair the metre), 4.11.53; again many more could be listed. Perhaps the most faithful to the source, especially toward the end, is Poppi Bibl Com 54, written by one Gaspar in Siena

in 1472. It shows the errors of GSC enumerated earlier at 2.8.27, 2.9.12, 2.9.37 ('ipsa'), 2.9.39, 2.9.46, 2.10.26, 2.25.15, 2.25.44, 2.26.14, 2.26.25, 2.28.9 ('domuit'), 2.29.8, 2.30.30, 2.31.6, 2.33.3, 2.34.36, (3.1.25 'ab regno'), (3.2.20 'idaei'; cf Vat lat 3272), 3.3.2 ('cui'), 3.11.36, 3.11.46, 3.11.48, 3.13.56 ('nuerit'), 4.1.30, 4.1.118, 4.1.138, 4.1.150 ('nec mille octipedis terga,' etc, with 'cancri' suprascript over 'terga'), (4.2.41 'cura' interpolated, with many other manuscripts, for 'fama'), 4.6.16 ('quas anus'), 4.6.25, 4.6.67, 4.6.81, 4.7.26 ('gutta'), 4.7.50, 4.7.94, 4.8.10, 4.8.15-16, 4.8.31 ('tetera'), (4.8.61 'illam' to repair the metre), 4.11.29, 4.11.40, 4.11.53 (4.11.71-102 have been lost); again the list could be extended. One year later in Ferrara the notary Petrus Paulus de Delaitis copied Berlin Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 52. In Book 4 he used the *editio princeps*; in Books 2-3 his agreements with errors of GSC already enumerated include 2.9.37 ('ipsa'), 2.9.46, 2.10.26, 2.25.15 ('obsita'), (2.25.17 'de me'), 2.25.44, 2.28.9 ('donuit'), 2.29.13, 2.31.6, 2.32.35, 3.1.25, 3.2.20, 3.11.48, 3.13.56 ('nuerit'). A more corrected partial descendant of the same source is Paris BN lat 8459, a Roman scholar's copy of 1481 or later (for some interpolations shared with other manuscripts see chapter 8, pp 153f). From the errors of GSC listed above it retains those at 2.8.27, 2.9.12, 2.9.37 ('ipsa'), 2.9.46, 2.25.15, 2.26.14, 2.26.25, 2.28.9 ('domuit'), 2.30.30, 2.31.6, 2.32.35; from about 2.33 until it breaks off at 3.15.46 it derives from the Reggio edition of 1481. These manuscripts are distributed widely in time and space; one would be at a loss to say whether they derive from their source directly, through a single lost copy, through several, or all separately.

Another descendant of the same source that merits a mention apart is Escorial ç.iv.22, written in northern Italy around 1450 (it is unfortunate that a more precise date is not possible). Among the errors of GSC enumerated earlier it shares those at 2.8.27, 2.9.12, 2.9.46, 2.10.26, 2.25.15, 2.25.17 ('de me'), 2.25.44, 2.26.25, 2.28.9 ('domuit'), 2.29.13, 2.30.30, 2.31.6, 2.32.35, 2.33.3 (before correction), 3.1.25, 3.11.48, 4.1.30, 4.1.137, 4.6.16 ('qua sanus'), 4.6.25, 4.6.67, 4.6.81, 4.7.26 ('gutta'), 4.7.50, 4.8.15-16, 4.8.61, 4.11.53. It shows some slight affinity in interpolations with Naples BN IV.F.19 (discussed in part 3), and Naples BN IV.F.21 is apparently a direct copy (its scribe has left specimens of his writing in the Escorial manuscript). The margins of Escorial ç.iv.22 contain many variants taken from a manuscript related to F; some restore the reading of the archetype, some could have come from any Petrarchan manuscript (eg 2.28.21 'monstrata,' 4.11.97 'lubrica'), but others are unique to F

and its descendants (eg 2.3.7 'serenis,' 2.13.47 'iurasset' F3: 'iurauisset' F1, 2.25.42 'dulcis,' 2.28.35 'nimbi'). Since these variants are early (contemporary with copying, if not in the hand of the scribe), they are likely to have been incorporated by anyone who copied the manuscript. Just such a combination of a GSC text with readings of F exists in g (Göttingen philol 111[b]), to be discussed in chapter 5 as an early representative of an influential group; Escorial ç.iv. 22 is, if not the major source of g, then perhaps a close enough descendant of that source to act as a partial check on unique errors of g.

There appear to be no direct copies of G, S, or C. One can, however, distinguish a group of manuscripts which agree with C in errors of which GS are free. Since there is evidence (see below) that some, at least, of these manuscripts cannot derive from C itself, it seems likely that all, including C, have a common source distinct from the common source of GSC. Among them are two well defined pairs. One comprises Florence Bibl Laur pl.38,37, written in Florence about 1460-70 (its change of affiliation has already been mentioned in part 1), and Leiden Voss lat O.81, of uncertain origin. Their close relationship can be illustrated briefly through their response first to an error of GSC, then to two omissions of C. GS exhibit 2.28.51 conflated with 52 to produce 'uobiscum est iopae nec proba pasiphae,' which C omitted; these two manuscripts give the version of GS with 'thalamis' after 'Iope' to produce a hexameter of sorts (pl.38,37 has further corrupted 'est iope' to 'ethiope'). In 3.2.14 C omits 'operosa,' leaving 'non rigat Marcius antra liquor'; these have added 'umbrosa' after 'rigat.' At 2.3.35 C omits 'tanti ad,' leaving 'olim mirabar quod pergama belli'; these manuscripts have filled out the line to 'olim mirabar quid pergama bella fuissent.' (The evidence of the other descendants of the source of GSC - GS are not available here - suggests that that manuscript omitted only 'ad'; the further omission of 'tanti,' however, is apparently peculiar to C and its congeners.) A third manuscript that sometimes agrees with this pair is the somewhat promiscuous Leiden Voss lat O.82, a late Roman copy, to be considered again in part 3 of this chapter. The second pair consists of Turin BN G.VI.41 (possibly Neapolitan) and Berlin Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 53. (A third manuscript, Besançon 535, is probably a direct copy of Turin G.VI.41 and need not be considered here.[6]) These two share a few interpolations with Voss lat O.81 and O.82, such as 1.1.37 'aduexerit' and 2.1.6 'totum de' (for 'hoc totum e'). Thus it might be possible to posit a common source for the four, or even all five. A securely Neapolitan copy, the Tomacellianus (on which see below), and certain related manuscripts, of which

the closest is Zaragoza Bibl del Seminario A 5 9, are also affiliated with C. The relationship of these copies can be illustrated through their shifting allegiance in a variety of errors:

2.11.6	fuit) iacet C; 38,37, O.81; Tom
12.24	soleant) solent *id*
13.32	laurus) laus C; 38,37, O.81, O.82; Tom
51	non numquam) numquam non C; 38,37, O.81; Tom
24.3	his uerbis *om* C; Tom (*deest* O.82)
13	cupit) capit C: caput Tom: capis B 53: cupis 38,37, O.81 (*deest* O.82)
32.41	stuprorum) stuporem C; 38,37, O.81; Tom, Zar
3.4.9-10	*om id*
5.15	miscebitur) miscebimur *id*
11.32	addictos) adductos C; G.VI.41; O.82: abductos 38,37, O.81: obductos Tom, Zar
52	Romula uincla) uincula Roma C; 38,37, O.81; G. VI.41, B 53; Zar
13.4	est *om* C; 38,37, O.81; Tom, Zar; G.VI.41
	metallis) metallum Cl; 38,37, O.81; Tom, Zar; G.VI.41
22.18	natura hic posuit) natura posuit C; G.VI.41, B 53; Tom: natura imposuit 38,37, O.81
4.1.124	Umber) uber C; 38,37, O.81; G.VI.41, B 53; Tom, Zar
133	dictat) cantat *id*
2.49	tribuisti) prebuisti C; O.81; G.VI.41, B 53
7.20	*uersum om.* C; O.81; G.VI.41, B 53
8.60	sonat) clamat C; O.81; G.VI.41, B 53; Tom, Zar
11.7	portitor) portior C; O.81: porcior B 53

All of the smaller groups of manuscripts proposed here appear to derive from the common source independently of each other; the case of 2.28.51f, already discussed, suggests that none derives from C. C was perhaps written in Ferrara and is certainly the earliest member of the group; the family and its conjectures perhaps arose there.

Its greatest influence, however, was not at Ferrara but in Naples and Rome. The earliest of the southern descendants is the Tomacellianus, probably the earliest Propertius written in Naples. Its scribe was Leo Tomacelli, brother of the more famous Marino (1419-1515), on whom he bestowed the manuscript at his decease (which is commemorated in the *Tumuli* of Pontano). A copy of Tibullus bound together with the Propertius was written for Marino by one Lutius when Marino was still *adulescentulus*, ie about 1440-5; the Propertius is perhaps only a little later. The Tomacellianus is apparently not the

source of the Neapolitan and Roman manuscripts affiliated with it but only its earliest surviving copy. Considering the early date, the progress from Ferrara to Naples, Pontano's acquaintance with the Tomacelli, the presence of a manuscript written by Pontano in 1460 among the relations of the Tomacellianus, and the fairly rich body of conjectures found in the group, it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the source of all these manuscripts is a copy taken to Naples by Pontano. He grew up and studied in northern Italy before entering the service of King Alfonso in 1447; since he imitated Propertius in the poetry of this period, he must already have acquired a text, perhaps from among the copies that were beginning to circulate around Ferrara. For a possible allusion by Pontano to such a manuscript see the introduction, p 10 and note 41.

The manuscripts affiliated with the Tomacellianus are Zaragoza A 5 9, already mentioned; Berlin Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 41; Bibl Vat Barb lat 23; Berlin lat fol 500; Valencia BU 725; Rome Bibl Casanatense 915; Bibl Vat Pal lat 1652; Parma Bibl Palatina 716; Pesaro Bibl Oliveriana 1167; and Vienna Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 3153, of which the last three apparently share a common intermediate source. The errors and interpolations of the source of the Tomacellianus appear variously throughout these copies; 'falsus' for 'tardus' at 1.1.17 recurs in Tom, Berlin 500, Berlin 41, Barb 23, Pesaro 1167, and Vienna 3153, 'mista' for 'picta' at 1.2.13 in Tom, Berlin 500, and Pesaro 1167, 'Thesiphone' for 'Persephonae' at 2.13.26 in Tom, Barb 23, and the Parma, Pesaro, and Vienna copies, and so on.

The affinity of Zaragoza A 5 9 with the Tomacellianus has already been mentioned; whether it indicates a particular closeness or only comparable fidelity to the common source is a question that the state of our knowledge does not allow to be answered. They alone agree in the following errors:

2.29.29	recenti) iacenti
34.61	Actia) aptia
4.1.59	tamen) bene Tom: bene in Zar
2.44	brassica) bracchia
55	ut) tua Tom: et tua Zar

At 4.1.59 and 4.2.55 Zar has interpolated to repair damage done by a palaeographical corruption in Tom. We can, however, be certain that Zar does not derive from Tom; at 3.2.14 the latter correctly exhibits 'operosa,' omitted by C, while the former reads 'non rigat aurata Marcius antra liquor,' implying that its exemplar had the same corruption as C. It also reproduces errors of the source of GSC which have been corrected in Tom.

Also close to Tom is Berlin Diez B Sant 41, written by one 'Fatius' during the reign of a Pope Pius (probably Pius II). Unique or rare agreements of Tom and Berlin 41 include:

1.13.10 exiget) eriget Tom, B 41^{ac}
2.13.55 paludibus) palillibus
20.26 eram ... animi) erat ... cum Tom, B 41^{ac}
34.20 quod) quo Tom: qui B 41 (and Barb 23; see below)

Berlin 41 cannot derive from Tom, however, since it retains errors of the source of GSC corrected in it. It shares a number of curious readings with Barb lat 23, a late and peculiar manuscript written (in Rome?) by one Paulus of Viterbo:

1.12.11 mutat) mattat B 41^{ac}: mactat B 23^{ac}
2.9.12 fluuiis O) flauis (*fort recte*)
13.12 pueris O) pueri
20.12 stasiliamque O) stafiliamque
24.27 fingit) ducit
3.3.2 facta) gesta
11.4 rumpere) soluere
30 trita) tracta
44 contis) comptis
22.34 rates) dapes
4.7.4 murmur) marmor

Enough errors of Tom and its relatives are present to permit the suggestion that Barb lat 23 is fundamentally a member of the group but heavily interpolated. Sometimes Tom, Zar, Berlin 41, and Barb 23 all agree in error (eg 4.8.19 'hircana'); probably these are errors of the source corrected in the other copies. The same can be said of the agreements of three (eg 4.1.91, where all but Berlin 41 give 'fila' for 'pila').

The manuscript of Pontano mentioned earlier is Berlin lat fol 500, written in Naples in 1460. This is almost an edition; the original interlinear readings are either early conjectures or transmitted readings ousted from the text by such conjectures, and Pontano supplemented these during the last forty years of his life with notes, manuscript readings, and more original conjectures. The latest (and often best) of these apparently did not circulate during his life, though Puccius made some use of them in his collation of 1502; the manuscript, still virtually ignored by editors, represents perhaps the most signficiant contribution of a single scholar of the Renaissance to the emendation of Propertius.[7] The margins of Valencia BU 725, a direct copy of this, contain a commentary (dated 1460) presumably composed by Pontano, who inscribed it in the manuscript.

Rome Bibl Casanatense 915, copied in Naples by Gian Rainaldo Mennio about 1480-90, is also affiliated with the Tomacellianus. It is heavily influenced by Pontano's conjectures but shows the same pattern of readings as Tom and several of the same errors. At 2.13.55 it preserves the reading of the source of Tom ('ipse' for 'isse') which in Tom was replaced by the interpolation 'ipsa.'

One relative of Tom which merits special notice is Bibl Vat Pal lat 1652, copied by Giannozzo Manetti and his son Agnolo. It is evidently a composite manuscript, being affiliated in Books 1-3 with a group to be discussed in chapter 7; the closeness of its text of Book 4 to the source of the Tomacellianus is suggested by the following agreements in error with Tom and related manuscripts:

4.1.86	et) -que (also Zar, B 41)
2.26	gramina secta) semina iacta (also Zar)
7.41	rependit iniquis *inuerso ordine* (also B 41)
8.4	descensus) defensus (also Zar, B 41)
9.38	sum *om* (also Zar, B 41)
11.27	loquor) loquar (also B 41)

It was later corrected, especially in Books 3 and 4, from a manuscript related to Göttingen philol 111^{b} (to be discussed in chapter 5).

A family of three related manuscripts either originated in northern Italy before the exemplar of Tom was taken to Naples or originated in Naples and then spread north. This comprises Pesaro Bibl Oliveriana 1167 (Books 1-2 only), copied in Siena in 1471 by Francesco Fucci, Parma Bibl Palatina 716, written in Pavia in the same year by Bernardus Pratus, and Vienna Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 3153, of uncertain origin and wretchedly copied (Book 2 receives the title 'Ad sodales Vncetenantem' for 'Ad sodalem Maecenatem'). (A series of variants added to v by a late hand represents a collation of some manuscript of this group, establishing the presence of one member in Naples.) These are united by a body of errors and interpolations of their own:

1.11.18	quod) quia
26	dicam) semper
2.8.31	tractos) traiectos
9.14	sustulit) sustitit P 716, V 3153: substitit P 1167
3.5.1	est *om*
39	et *om*
11.36	tollet nulla dies) nulla dies tollet
13.18	stat *om*

4.6.42 imposuit) qui posuit
79 foedere) reddere

Their source derived from the source of Tom independently of the other manuscripts discussed here. C and Tom omitted 'his uerbis' at 2.24.3, leaving 'cui non aspergat tempora sudor'; the others have restored the correct reading, but Parma 716 and Vienna 3153 offer 'cui non aspergat rorantia tempora sudor.' At 2.10.25 Tom omitted 'etiam, ' leaving 'nondum Ascraeos norunt mea carmina fontes'; Parma 716 reads 'ut nondum Ascraeos,' etc, while the other two read 'et nondum Ascraeos,' which also appears as a variant in Berlin 500. The Parma and Vienna copies have interpolated 'quem' for 'sum,' omitted by Tom, Zar, Berlin 41, and Pal lat 1652 at 4.9.38. From some manuscript related to these have come the corrections by the late hand in N and some of the variants in Berlin Diez B Sant 57; Rome Bibl Casanatense 3227 (to be discussed in chapter 8) is in part affiliated with the group.

3 A class of conflated manuscripts derived from L and v and including b and e was discussed briefly in chapter 2; it will now be considered more closely. It perhaps originated in an exchange of manuscripts between Panormita and his friend Cambio Zambeccari. Sabbadini drew attention to a letter of the former to the latter, then in Pavia, which is probably to be dated 1427 or soon after;[8] it begins, 'Propertium nautam iocundissimum poetam recepi: pergratius mihi tamen et beneficentius fecisses illum tuo usui detinuisse.' No more is said of Propertius or of manuscripts, but we can appreciate Panormita's apparent annoyance if we suppose that Zambeccari had asked him to correct his Propertius in the same way that on another occasion he corrected his Virgil: 'Aeneam tuum nondum retractaui; recorrigam illum profecto uel ad fastidium, si modo morae patiens fueris: sin minus, mittam ad te interim Virgilium meum. Tu contra, si Liuium meum inter legendum aliquando emendaueris, haud facies inofficiose.'[9] The relative corruption of the two copies put the major burden of labour on Panormita. All the copies that derive from this conflation follow the same pattern of an increasingly corrected A text in Books 1 and 2 and a fairly pure v text, with little or no A influence, in Books 3 and 4. One may surmise that they descend either from a manuscript derived from Zambeccari's copy in the first half of the text and Panormita's in the second or from a copy of Panormita's manuscript heavily corrected in Books 1 and 2 from Zambeccari's; the former may be supported by the titles found in the Brussels and Hamburg copies (below).

The descendants of this conflation can be divided into a northern and a southern branch. The former consists of b (Brussels Bibl Royale 14638), written in Milan or Pavia about 1450-60, Oxford Bodleian Library Add B 55, also Milanese, dated 1451 and signed by Lorenzo Dolabella, and Hamburg Staats - und Universitätsbibliothek Scrin 139.4, a Ferrarese manuscript of about 1460-70; all three share a common source that cannot be identified with any surviving copy. Their titles offer suggestive evidence of their origin. All begin the text with 'Monobliblos Propertii Aurelii Naute ad Tullum Incipit'; this is closest to P, which also reads 'monobliblos' (v has 'monobyblos' and appends 'Vel Liber Elegiarum Secundum Nomium Marcellum'). The *explicit* in the Brussels and Hamburg copies runs 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Feliciter Explicit uel Liber Elegiarum Propertii Finit,' exactly as found in v and in only a handful of close descendants, none early enough to have influenced this group. Further confirmation that v was one source comes from the scribe of the Hamburg manuscript (uncomprehending enough to conclude his rubricated titles in Tibullus with the word 'rubrica') who wrote out three marginal notes taken from v (2.10.1 'Vel cum superiori sit eadem elegia'; 2.11.1 'Erat et haec cum superioribus eadem in exemplari'; 4.9.70 'Sic stat in exemplari'). Identification of the Petrarchan source is less easy. In chapter 2 it was suggested that the Petrarchan source of b is probably L rather than the exemplar of LP. Whatever Propertius was used by Zambeccari in Pavia in 1427 is likely to be the same as that recorded in the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library and again in 1459; that inventory cites the last line of the text, and the reading 'uehuntur' suggests that the Visconti Propertius was related to Petrarch's. Thus it would appear that the Visconti Propertius was not Petrarch's, as has been suggested by others, but L or its exemplar,[10] unless the apparent conjunctive errors of L and b are only errors of Petrarch's copy corrected in the other descendants. It must also be considered, however, that Z was apparently copied from Petrarch's Propertius in Padua in 1453, a circumstance difficult to reconcile with its presence in the Visconti inventory. Among the members of this northern branch b is the most useful, but both the Oxford copy, which has taken part of its text from F,[11] and the Hamburg copy can serve as a check upon its unique errors.

The southern branch consists of the single manuscript Naples BN IV.F.19 (n) and five Roman codices related to it.[12] The Naples copy contains a large collection of mostly humanistic poetry, some of which suggests that it originated in Naples; more interesting, it may argue for a close connection between n and Panormita.[13] Indeed, after examining the text

of Panormita's *Hermaphroditus* contained in it, Altamura made the impossible suggestion that Panormita himself might have copied it; the textual evidence in Propertius suggests that n and its congeners, which follow the same pattern of affiliation as b, derive from the same conflation of copies as the northern manuscripts already discussed. Early in the text n has more errors of the Petrarchan family than b; the following, for example, have been corrected in b but are retained by n:

1.12.10 diuidit) diuitis
13.8 lapsus) lapsis AFP: lassis n
11 compescet) componet
32 amare) amore
17.19 sepelissent) peperissent
22.7 tu) et
2.1.19 Ossan) titan
41 conueniunt) praeueniunt

At 2.8.37 it omits *sera* with Petrarch's copy and at 2.1.31 offers 'attractus' with the archetype against 'tractus,' read by the vast majority of *recentiores*, including b. Petrarchan readings cease still earlier in n than in b,[14] but up to the middle of Book 2 both agree in errors found in no other descendant of A that is extant in this part of the text:

1.11.23 tu [Cynthia]) tua
20.17 ferunt olim) olim ferunt
2.9.38 promite) prompte

It is likely, therefore, that b and n share the same Petrarchan source, namely L (or, less likely, its exemplar), and that they derive from the same conflation of L and v, though not necessarily from the same manuscript (b, for instance, could derive from a copy in Zambeccari's possession, n from one in Panormita's); it follows that n can be as useful as b in determining the text of L, and so of Petrarch's copy, from 2.1.64 to 2.21.2. It should be added that 1.20.17 shows that the *antiquum manuscriptum* e cannot be the source of n, as it cannot be the source of b, since it there had the *ad hoc* correction 'olim fluerat.'

If the collation of e, which is found in a manuscript now in the Vatican Library, was made in Rome, then perhaps e was a Roman manuscript related to the group now to be discussed. These are five Roman copies, the earliest dated 1463; though related to n, they are so interpolated and corrected that their value is not for the constitution of the text but rather for its emendation. Leningrad Saltyakov-Shchedrin State Public

Library Cl.lat.Q.12 was written in Rome in 1463 by Marianus de Magistris; Salamanca BU 245, probably a direct copy of it, is dated 1464 and signed by one Paulus Maueziin; Paris BN lat 8458 is the work of an unidentified Roman scholar, probably of the last quarter of the century.[15] The other two copies show significant contamination from other manuscripts. Vat lat 1611, written about 1470, has been influenced heavily by some descendant of F (cf chapter 2, addendum, p 55), and Leiden Voss lat O.82, another late copy, has already been discussed in part 2 for its affiliation with certain relatives of Cambridge Add 3394. All five follow the same pattern of affiliation found in b and n and agree with n in preserving certain errors of A corrected in b. All except Vat lat 1611 and Paris 8458 also agree with n in reading 'habet' for 'amat' with the two medieval florilegia at 2.1.58. Paris 8458 is probably more heavily corrected than the others; for instance, it stands aloof from the following errors and interpolations that they share:

2.1.23 Remi) regni Len, Sal
53 est *om* Len, Sal
3.1 qui nullum tibi dicebas iam posse nocere O) qui ti. di. nu. iam (non Len, Sal) po. no. Len, Sal, O.82
23 *nouam elegiam inc.* Len, Sal, O.82, 1611^{pc}
39 digna Len^{vl}, Sal) pulchra Len^{t}, O.82
13.48 Iliacis) Italicis Len, Sal, 1611
24.12 habere) abire Len, Sal, 1611 (*deest* O.82)
28.51 Iope) Iole Len^{vl}, O.82, 1611^{pc}
32.21 est *om* Len, Sal, O.82^{ac}, 1611
34.2 mea est) fuit Len, Sal, O.82^{ac}, 1611
3.1.2 me *om* Len, Sal, O.82, 1611
5.6 paro) para Len, Sal, O.82^{ac}, 1611
13 ullas) illas Len, O.82, 1611
11.26 surgere O) subdere Len, Sal (*recte*)
50 salua) sacra Len, Sal
longum) longa O.82, 1611
19.13 *om spatio relicto* Len, Sal
4.2.23 non) modo Len, Sal, O.82, 1611
8.87 atque ita) ad quae Len, Sal, O.82, 1611
9.10 sonos) focos Len, Sal, O.82, 1611
17 clauae) uitae Len, Sal, O.82
19 sancite Bouaria) sanate baria Len, Sal, O.82, 1611
23 audit) audet O.82, 1611
29 longis) frondem Len, Sal, O.82, 1611
54 limina *om* Len, Sal: tuta ... fuge *om* 1611: agedum ... fuge *om* O.82
11.9 subdita) subbita Len: subita Sal, O.82, 1611

29 per auita tropaea) perauito fama Len, Sal, O.82, 1611

The closeness of the Leningrad and Salamanca copies is apparent in such passages as 2.3.39, 3.11.26, and 3.19.13; to judge by 4.11.9, the Leningrad manuscript could be the source of all the others, which will then have been corrected from other copies, but the transformation of 'subdita' to 'subita' was not difficult for an Italian scribe. There may also be a close connection between the Leiden and Vatican manuscripts (note 3.11.50 and 4.9.54); Leiden O.82, of course, cannot be the source of Vat lat 1611 since it omits more of 4.9.54. All five of these manuscripts (including Paris 8458) are further united by a number of interpolations taken from Brescia A.VII.7 or one of its kin (to be discussed in chapter 6), including:

4.2.50 Vicus ... Tuscus) Tuscus ... Vicus
8.58 clamat) uocabat
9.3 pecorosa) nemorosa
11.82 credita) tradita
84 responsurae) responsurum

Harley 2574, which Dr de la Mare has identified as Roman or Neapolitan, might be the specific source of these interpolations, since the group to which the Brescia copy belongs is largely northern. Alternatively, these interpolations could have affected the source before it ever reached Rome. Other readings were contributed to this family by some relative of Cambridge Add 3394 (part 2 of this chapter), more particularly of Berlin Diez B Sant 53 and Turin G.VI.41. 'Prolaxum' for 'prolapsum' at 1.20.47 is read by Laur pl.38,37 and Berlin 53 in addition to Len and O.82 (Sal has 'prolixum'), 'uidi' for 'cogis' at 2.1.5 by Laur pl.38,37 and Leiden O.82 in addition to Len, Sal, O.82, and Vat lat 1611 (the last in a lacuna after correction). In a few cases Berlin 53 presents a corruption that might have led to an error of Len, Sal, and company. Thus at 2.24.12 'habire' for 'habere' could have led to 'abire'; 'longam' for 'longum' at 3.11.50 could have led to 'longa' in O.82 and Vat lat 1611. Certainty, however, is difficult to achieve so relatively late in the tradition; all that can safely be said is that the source of this family underwent some interpolation before it was copied.

NOTES

1 The most striking reading of Salamanca 85 found in pl.33,15 is 'Amphioneas' for 'Cithaeronis' at 3.2.5. The Laurentian

manuscript also has a series of symbols in the margins in Book 1 indicating that the lines should be rearranged in an order, explicitly said to be found in another copy, which corresponds to the disordered text of Salamanca 85.

2 Closely related to these two is the text used by the second scribe of Florence Bibl Laur Acq e doni 124 (on which see chapter 6) from 3.9.55 to the end; significant agreements of the three include:

3.11.50 salua) fata
4.1.2 herba) umbra
67 candida *om*
2.48 lingua *om*
6.4 urna) unda
38 Auguste Hectoreis) hectoris auguste
8.31 Teia *om in lac*
35 secreta) secrea
9.49 fascia) marsia
11.29 per auita) p (*ceteris in lac omissis*)

In addition, all three repeat 4.8.59-60 between 4.9.6 and 7.

3 Most of the readings of F4 simply restore the text of NX or of the archetype; decisive incorrect readings include:

2.1.46 ea) eo
13.47 quis) qui
26.1 ego *add* F4
28.27 narrabis) narrabit
3.1.11 uectantur) nectantur
5.17 Iro) hero (not recorded by Ferguson)
4.7.72 Chloridos) choridos

4 He returned to Florence in 1438-9 but is more likely to have obtained a copy on the earlier occasion. For Aurispa's life and activity in the book trade cf E. Bigi in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* IV (Rome 1962) 593-5.

5 They are found in Berlin lat fol 557, a sylloge of letters largely by L. Bruni. Sabbadini published them in *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome 1931), attributing to Aurispa's Florentine visit of October 1427 three from which come the following extracts:

xxxiiii (pp 52-3): Propertium paratissimum atque emendatissimum habeo, quem ideo nunc non mitto, quoniam de Celso et Tibullo quid actum sit nescio;

xxxv: Propertium emendatissimum et paratum domi ut ad uos mittam habeo, quem continuo mittam cum tuas litteras legero;

xxxvi: una cum Propertio subtelata caetera sunt: calami quinque ex optimis.

The third at least is directed to a professional scribe; Sabbadini suggested Francia. There is another possible link with Aurispa. It will be suggested in chapter 6 that

Brescia A.VII.7 and two other manuscripts might derive from a codex recorded in an inventory of Aurispa's library. The Genoa and Cambridge manuscripts omit 'fulcro' at 2.13. 21; the Brescia copy and its relatives, which read 'feretro,' may derive from a manuscript in which such an omission was remedied by conjecture.

6 Agreements of the Turin, Besançon, and Berlin manuscripts include:

3.1.4	Itala) Italaque
5.31	dies mundi) mundi dies
4.1.6	sine arte) habitare
6.35	Pythona) titana
8.3	Lanuuium) iannhuinum

In addition, Besançon 535 has incorporated many of the corrections of Turin G.VI.41.

7 All the variant readings from this manuscript that do not obviously come from manuscripts written before 1460 were listed in Appendix 5 of my disseration; some conjectures are listed in chapter 8, p 157, and it is hoped that Pontano's conjectures can be treated more systematically in the future.

8 He printed the *incipit* in *Ottanta lettere inedite del Panormita* from Milan Bibl Ambros H 49 inf and H 192 inf, the copies used here; I have not seen the letter from the 1746 Neapolitan edition of Panormita's *Epistolae Gallicae* which he mentions at *Le scoperte* I 103 note 72, but it may be the same as this one.

9 Panormita to Zambeccari *Epistolae Gallicae* (Venice 1553) 3.2

10 The entry in the Visconti inventory, reported by Ullman 286 as confirmed from direct examination, is 'Monobiblos Propersii Aurelii Naute uolumen paruum in assidibus et fundo corii albi in carminibus. Incipit Cinthia prima suis, et finitur ossa uehuntur aquis.' The orthography is not a serious barrier to the identification proposed here. 'Monobiblos' in the Visconti copy, while P and b (and so perhaps L) had 'monobliblos,' can be explained in several ways: either the catalogue introduced the correct form by accident (less likely by conjecture), or the agreement of P with b and its relatives is coincidental (note for instance that Naples BN IV.F.20 gives 'Monobliblos' by accident before correction - it derives closely from F, which has the correct form; and that Naples BN IV.F.22 in its title to Book 3 has 'Monoblybos' corrected to 'Monoblyblos'). The spelling 'Propersii' appears in no extant manuscript. A gives 'propercii,' F and P 'Propertius,' while the subscription of L offers both 'propercius' and 'propertii'; b and relations have 'Propertius.' If the *s* in the inventory

suggests a source with *c*, then L and perhaps its exemplar remain more plausible candidates than Petrarch's copy, where, to judge by F, the name was spelt with *t*; clearly, however, orthography cannot resolve the question.

11 From 2.34.75 to 3.15.35, apparently written by another scribe; note the following agreements with F1, F2, and F3:

3.1.36 cineres) cinerem F: cineremque B 55
2.22 pondere) pondera
3.36 at) et
49 excantare) extaurare
13.27 munus erant) pompa fuit (F3)
37 lentas) letas
59 uerus) '*immo falsus*' F2^{mg}: falsus *pro* uerus *in textum recepit* B 55

The Bodleian manuscript provides valuable dated evidence for a text derived from F available in Milan as early as mid-century.

12 The Palermo manuscript is perhaps affiliated with this group. Ferguson (32, with a very few readings cited in the footnotes on 32-3) describes it as 'very promising in its relation to A so far as it goes,' discussing it immediately after Naples IV.F.19; its present home may suggest a southern origin. While it might prove an interesting manuscript historically, it would give nothing of value textually, since it contains only a part of Book 1, where A, the exemplar of the manuscript which it would be employed to reconstruct, still survives.

13 Works of famous early humanists such as Petrarch, Salutati, and Antonio Loschi appear; many of the lesser authors and addressees had some association with Naples. Ferrando de Valenza, for instance, was a Spanish priest who lived in Naples 1445-58 (Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote a brief biography); Matteo Malferito was for a time secretary to King Alfonso; Gregorius Tiphernius taught there at mid-century. There are poems addressed to Panormita by Franciscus Pontanus on f 147 as well as poems by Panormita, including the *Hermaphroditus*. More suggestive are the poems not written by Panormita but attributed to him here, such as Martial 8.46 (written twice, both times ascribed to Panormita), and the famous inscription of Atimetus to his wife Homonoea (*CIL* VI 12652), here divided into sections, each attributed to Panormita. It seems reasonable to suppose that a scribe copying a *zibaldone* belonging to a famous scholar would attribute unassigned pieces to him.

14 The v text in n is far from pure, especially in Books 3 and 4. Some of the errors or interpolations point to a connection with Escorial ç.iv.22 (discussed in Part Two), while others are unique; the most interesting of these is

4.9.70 'Herculis aeternum,' now attributed to Heinsius, who could have collated n in Naples.

15 The affiliation of this copy with the Petrarchan family is also discussed by Ferguson 22-30, whence its inclusion among the manuscripts used in the Oxford text.

5

g, Z, and the Delta Manuscripts

The second half of the century saw a marked increase in the copying of Propertius: from 1400 to 1450 three dated manuscripts survive, from 1451-1500 thirty-two. All of this copying facilitated contamination, and it becomes ever more difficult to trace the descent of manuscripts in detail; often even a relative chronology cannot be established. Several groups of manuscripts arise in northern Italy from the source of GSC (discussed in chapter 4, section 2); these will be considered here and in chapter 6. Perhaps the earliest such group is that first attested in Venice BN Marciana Fondo antico 443 (Z) and Göttingen Niedersächsische Stadts- und Landesbibliothek philol 111[b] (g). Z was discussed in chapter 2 as a direct descendant of Petrarch's manuscript from 2.29 to the end; it was written in Padua in 1453 and earlier shares the same source as g. The date of g is uncertain. The *incipit* of the Tibullus contains the date MCCCCLVIIII, with the last three figures erased, but an eighteenth-century reference to a manuscript in Mantua that must be g gives the date as 1458.[1] Thus one may choose from among 1459, 1458, and 1456, but the date of Z guarantees that at least the readings shared by g and Z originated by 1453. Six scribes copied g, and of these four wrote the text of Propertius (1.1.1-2.25.13; 2.25.14-3.3.7; 3.3.8-4.6.58; 4.6.58-4.11.102), all using the same exemplar. The Propertius and Tibullus were annotated by a scholar associated with Giovanni Tortelli. Bibl Vat Vat lat 3908, a volume of largely autograph correspondence addressed to Tortelli by various scholars,[2] contains letters from his young friend Agostino Scanella in at least three hands. The first letter from him (for example) on f34 (modern foliation) was transcribed by Tortelli himself, the second perhaps by a professional scribe; the first letter from him on f63 was written by the annotator of g. He cannot be Scanella, who

died in 1450, but might be another pupil of Volpi (for whom see chapter 3, addendum, pp 87, 94. According to Dr de la Mare the decorated initials in g are probably Bolognese. A third manuscript that must be considered here is Milan Bibl Ambrosiana D 267 inf, which Sabbadini thought was owned and in part copied by Guarino of Verona.[3] The former supposition might be correct if the note by an early hand inside the front cover ('Propertius Guarini') is not fraudulent or mistaken, but no part of the manuscript seems to be in his hand.[4] If he did own D 267 inf it was not for long, since one of its sources is dated 1453; Guarino died in 1460. The several scribes of this copy used two different sources, one probably the source of gZ, the other certainly Z; an early corrector, apparently without access to another copy, added readings from the exemplars and conjectures to the margins, and a handful of manuscripts, including DVVo, derive from this copy after correction.

The principal source of this family (hereafter designated as M, mu) is yet another descendant of the source of GSC (cf chapter 4, section 2, pp 100-3) but contains certain readings associated specifically with C which have probably entered by contamination. Among the errors of GSC enumerated above on pp 101f g retains those at 2.9.12 (shared by Z and D 267 inf), 2.9.37 ('ipsa,' shared by Z), 2.9.46 ('tecum' as a variant, not surprisingly neglected by the other scribes), 2.10.26, 2.25.15 ('tegitur' only; D 267 inf reads 'obsitam tegitur'), 2.25.17 ('de me,' shared by D 267 inf), 2.25.44 (as a variant), 2.31.6 ('hiare' as a variant, added by the correcting hand in D 267 inf), 3.1.25, and 4.1.118. The paucity of GSC errors in the last two books is to be explained through the differing habits of the copyists of g: the two who copied as far as 3.3.7 tended to preserve both text and variant, those who copied from 3.3.8 to the end to incorporate the variants, obscuring many errors by restoring the text of the archetype. The following readings, among others, are shared by g but not by Z or by D 267 inf (except at 2.13.47, perhaps by coincidence) with C, Laur pl.38,37, and Leiden O.81:

2.9.35 feminea) femina
11.2 ludet O) laudet (*recte*)
13.47 minuisset) meminisset
26.19 conabar) conabor
34.25 meus) meos
3.5.25 perdiscere) praediscere

M, however, is likely to have derived from the source of GSC rather than from the source of C and its congeners since at 2.3.35 g, Z, and D 267 inf omit only 'ad,' as presumed for

the source of GSC (cf chapter 4, p 105), while C omits 'tanti ad.' Escorial ç.iv.22 has already been introduced in the last chapter (pp 104ff). It exhibits the errors of GSC also found in g (except those at 2.9.37 and 4.1.118) but none of those shared by g and C. It contains fewer Petrarchan readings than g; g, for instance, has the following, among others:

2.26.5 agitatam) agitaui (F)
15 ob inuidiam) prae inuidia (g^{vl}FZ)
41 desit) spectat (FLPZ)
44 modo) quoque (FLPZ)
28.21 deuota) monstrata (FLPZ)
35 carmine) imagine (FLPZ)
rhombi) nimbi (g^{t}F)
29.36 nec) non (F)
3.1.36 cineres) cinerem (F)
13.27 munus erant) pompa fuit (F3)
4.1.43 trepidus) tremidus (F)
89 Arria) accia (F)

The Escorial manuscript has only those at 2.28.21, 2.28.35 ('nimbi'), 3.13.27, and 4.1.89, all as variant readings. Such readings obviously complicate the task of determining the point at which Z changes its affiliation. Some of these can have come only from a descendant of F; others suggest that P might have been another source for gZ:

1.1.7 toto ... anno) totis ... annis PZ^{vl}
2.1 uita) uincta Pg^{vl}: uitta $g^{t}Z$
20 auecta) aduecta PZg
11.11 Teuthrantis) teutantis O: metantis Pg^{vl} (cf note 5)
20.29 secluditur) subcluditur $P^{vl}g^{t}$
2.2.4 ignosco $N^{vl}P^{vl}g^{vl}$) ignoro O (cf note 6)
32.4 Telegoni) let(h)ogoni O: telagoni P: thelagoni g

D 267 inf has 'totis ... annis' as a variant at 1.1.7, reads 'uitta' at 1.2.1 and 'metantis' in an erasure at 1.11.11, and at 2.2.4 reads 'ignoro' in the text with 'ignosco' added by the early corrector. The Escorial manuscript gives the reading of P in the text at 1.20.29, as a variant at 1.1.7, 1.2.1, and 1.11.11. At 1.2.1 it has 'uita' in the text altered to 'uitta,' then 'aliter uita uel uincta' in the margin. Here g clearly derives independently from the same source, for it reads 'uitta' in the text with the note 'aliter uita, id est o uita mea, aliter uincla (*sic*)'; the interpretation of *uita* is not likely to have been invented by the scribe of g. In connection with the possible influence of P on gZ and the presence of annotations in g by an associate of Tortelli it

is interesting to note that in his *De orthographia* (1459) sv 'Cynthia' Tortelli cited Propertius 1.1.1 with 'sola' for 'prima,' a reading confined to P, its close descendant Mons 218/109, and Barb lat 58, where Tortelli is explicitly identified as the source.[7]

In addition to these several strands of inherited readings M introduced its own errors and interpolations. In the earlier part of the text these include:

1.11.21 carae) curae Zg^{vl}
13.8 adire) abire Zlg^{vl}
21.9 quaecumque) quicumque Zg
2.8.37 sera) sacra Zg
9.17 uiris O) castis Zg
39 hanc *om* Zg (cf note 8)
10.14 tenuisse) timuisse g: metuisse Zl
13.7 stupefiat) stupescat Zg
37 nec) non Zg
46 tria) tua Zg^{vl}
19.1 si) sine Zg
4 sinat) sinet Zg

Of these the Escorial manuscript shares those at 1.21.9 (after correction), 2.9.17, 2.13.7, 2.13.37, and 2.13.46 (as a variant reading); most of the others, which might perhaps be regarded as more trivial errors of transcription, are found in D 267 inf (1.13.8 written by the corrector, 2.8.37, 2.9.39, 2.10.14 'timuisse,' 2.19.1 and 4 in the text). Z and g are the earliest extant manuscripts to offer a series of readings which replace the paradosis with a word metrically equivalent and only slightly, if at all, less satisfactory in sense; one cannot say whether these are scribal errors or conjectures. The following examples appear in both Z and g, which in every case but the penultimate also present the paradosis as a variant:

1.2.29 uerbis) dictis
13.6 moram) uiam
17.26 choro) noto
2.1.53 gramine) sanguine
8.4 leuior) segnior
12.19 satius) potius
19.4 probam) meam

None appears in Escorial ç.iv.22. D 267 inf lacks the last two; in the first four cases the paradosis was added by the corrector, while at 2.8.4 'leuior' appears in the text with 'segnior' added by the corrector.

Errors and interpolations continue in g after Z changes its affiliation; the following is a representative selection of these from 2.29 to the end, with the agreement of D 267 inf (=d; the early corrector =d2):

2.29.42 fuit) dies g^{vl}
30.15 onerantur) ornentur g: orentur d
33 moueris) noueris
36 accubuit d2) ingemuit $g^{vl}d$ (cf 1.1.14)
31.4 senis) nurus $g^{vl}d2$: mirus d
33.7 occultis) semper g^{t}
34.45 [tu] non) modo g^{vl}
78 uua) una $g^{t}d2$: herba $g^{vl}d$
85 ludebat) laudabat gd
86 flamma) cura g
88 quis) quin g^{t}
3.1.6 quamue ... aquam) quaue ... aqua g^{vl}
17 hoc) est g^{vl}
35 seros) sacros g^{t}
2.2 in g^{vl}) ut $g^{t}d$
3 detinuisse) te tenuisse g
3.11 Lares $g^{vl}F$: lacres X LPZ: lacies N) alacres $g^{t}d$
29 imago $g^{vl}d2$) origo $g^{t}d$
42 tingere) cingere g
5.41 ieiunia) reuincla g
13.62 uerax) uas g
4.1.9 quo X FLPZ: quod N) quot g
12 corda) turba g
71 dicere) discere g
129 uersarent) seruarent g
2.50 Vicus ... Tuscus) uiciis ... tustus g
5.55-56 *om* g
7.55 sortita) quaesita g
56 remigat) nauigat g
59 parta O) uecta g
8.23 tacto O) capto g
44 reccidit) procidit g
57 ungues) ignes g
58 Teia) territa g
68 fusca O) frustra g
9.5 suo stagnabant flumine quoque) sua frangebant lumine quaque g
7 hospite) ordine g
21 torquet) torret g
74 Cures) manus g
11.14 et sum) ipsum g
legatur) leuatur g
32 titulis) utilis g

53 cuius rasos FLPZ: c. iasos X) cui commissos g
97 et bene habet numquam) et bene habet bene numquam g

These are consistent in kind with those already examined in the earlier part of the text. Some are inherited from remoter sources; the 'onerentur' which lies behind 'ornentur' at 2.30.15, for instance, is found in GSC, 'una' at 2.34.78 in C and its congeners. Escorial ç.iv.22 has those at 2.34.88, 3.2.2, 3.5.41, 4.7.55, 4.7.59 ('nexa'), 4.8.23, 4.8.68 ('frusta'), 4.9.21, and 4.9.74 as variant readings, that at 4.11.53 after correction, that at 4.9.5 ('quaque' only) before correction. It might act as a check to distinguish individual errors of g from those of its source; but this will have little practical value in deciding which of the later copies related to g derive from it and which from the same source. At least two errors shared with D 267 inf apparently belong to the 'metrically equivalent' category (2.30.36, 3.3.29, perhaps 2.34.85); conceivably 2.34.86 is another example not preserved by D 267 inf. The sources of this family are generally northern; the source of GSC, it has been suggested, was located in Ferrara, and Z and g were copied respectively in Padua and Bologna. Considering the date, provenance, numerous corrections, multiple sources, and wide influence of the manuscripts related to g, it may not be unreasonable to suggest, with all the diffidence that the lack of substantial evidence requires, a connection between M and the most famous scholar of the period working in Ferrara, Guarino of Verona. Evidence that Guarino studied or lectured on Propertius has not yet come to light, but it seems inconceivable that he could have neglected him. Guarino wrote to Florence from Val Policella in 1426 requesting a copy of Propertius; if he received one, it could have supplied the Petrarchan readings of this family.[9]

It remains now to consider D 267 inf and the manuscripts derived from it. That its copyists used two sources has been observed above. One scribe, using the source of gZ or a copy of it, wrote 1.1.1-3.9.46, 3.14.8-3.16.1, and 3.17.1-3.21.17; 3.16.2-30 were probably written by the early corrector; another hand copied 3.9.47-3.14.7 from Z; yet another copied 3.21.18 to the end from Z, and this part was corrected from the exemplar. Unique errors of Z repeated by D 267 inf (=d) in this final section include:

3.22.34 nec) non
4.1.89 Accia) arua Z: ara dl
96 concidit) condit
99 cum Cinarae) emare
7.80 alligat) arigigat d^{ac}: alligagat Zd^{pc}

9.18 boues) boueues
57 magnam O) magna
11.11 Paulli *om*
43 damnum) damni

It is is interesting that, like the scribe of Z, whoever caused D 267 inf to be copied (perhaps the early corrector) deserted a less for a more corrupt exemplar; perhaps his reason was the same, for if he knew the owner of Z he might have been aware of its relationship to Petrarch's copy.

A group of three manuscripts already mentioned probably derives from D 267 inf after correction; these are Deventer Stadts- of Athenaeum-Bibliotheek I 82 (1792) (D), Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1514 (V), and Leiden Voss lat Q.117 (Vo). Baehrens was the first modern editor to use DV. He dated them a half-century or more too early and mistakenly thought that they represented an independent and uninterpolated strain of the tradition; he was refuted within little more than a decade,[10] but the manuscripts have continued to find advocates like Housman and Enk[11] and to hold a place in modern editions (not, as Richardson says, because it has become 'traditional' to do so but because their origin has not been established conclusively). D was copied in Padua about 1460, perhaps by Bartolomeo Sanvito. V was written in the same city about 1460-5 by a scribe whom Dr de la Mare has identified as Franciscus de Camuciis, known to have copied a manuscript that was rubricated by Sanvito.[12] The readings added by another hand (V2 of modern editions) will be discussed in chapter 6; Dr de la Mare has attributed this to the Roman scholar Ludovico Regio.[13] Vo was introduced by Richmond, who wrongly thought that it could be the source of DV; it too was copied in Padua about 1460 but is not a pure representative of this strain, being significantly interpolated from another recension in Books 2 and 3.

DVVo are clearly related to Zg and particularly to Z. They follow it in the early poems in exhibiting the readings taken by Z but not g from P (1.1.7 'totis ... annis,'[14] 1.17.6 'increpet') as well as at least one shared by Zg (1.2.20 'aduecta'); they also exhibit the metrically equivalent variants of Zg.[15] More significantly, they seem to follow Z as it changes its affiliation in Book 2 and begin to reproduce certain errors of the whole Petrarchan family:

2.28.21 deuota) monstrata F1LP^{ac}Z^{ac}DV1Vo
29.1 mea) modo F1LP^{ac}ZDV1Vo
30.30 uolarit) uolaret FP^{ac}ZDV1 (uolares L)
31.10 carius) clarior FLP^{ac}ZDV1
34.25 seros) sacros F1LPZDV1

47 sed) si F1LP^{ac}ZDV
3.5.6 aera) ire F1LPZDVVo
13.43 et) ut F1LPZDV1
uenaberis) ueneraberis F1LPZDV1
51 limina) lumina F1LPZDV1
53 mons) mox F1LPZDV1

More important for the present purpose are agreements of two or more of the delta manuscripts with Z alone:

1.20.20 scopulis ZP^{c}D^{t}V^{t}) scapulis Z^{ac}DV1V^{v}1Vo
2.1.20 impositam) impositum ZDVVo
19.14 ubi) ibi ZDVVo
26 boues) pedes Z^{ac}DV1Vo
20.20 posset) possem Z^{ac}DV1Vo
24.10 num) nunc ZDV1Vo
39 patiar) patior ZDV1Vo
27.14 cernat) seruat Z^{ac}D^{t}V1
29.10 dixit et) dixerat ZDV1Vo
31.9 tum) dum Z^{ac}DV1
32.61 tuque es N X FLPVo) siue es ZDV
34.59 hesternis) eternum ZDV1
3.11.48 notat) uocat ZDV1
51 uada) uaga ZDVVo
22.27 at) ac ZDV
34 nec) non ZDV
4.1.95 at) et ZDV1
135 at) ac ZDV1
7.9 adederat) ademerat ZDV1Vo
30 lectum) letum ZDV
8.38 Graeca) grata ZDV1
9.5 qua) quam ZDV1
11.43 non) ton F1LP^{ac}: con ZDV1Vo

These agreements, perhaps not significant individually, cumulatively establish that Z is at least the major source of Petrarchan readings in DVVo. In several passages D alone exhibits the error of Z:

3.22.23 Clitumnus) liciminus ZD
4.1.119 hactenus) nactenus Z1D^{ac}
150 octipedis Cancri) occipitis contra ZD
8.10 anguino) anguiuo ZD
67 ubi) ibi ZD
9.18 bis) sis Z: scis D

DVVo frequently diverge from Z, as in the following examples:

1.2.19 nec) non DVVo
2.19.30 nec) haec DVVo
20.19 quod) quid DVVo
28.29 heroidas) herodias DVVo
47 maneat) moueat DV1: mouet Vo
29.13 haec) hoc DV2Vo
28 neu) non DV1Vo
31 quod O) quid DV1Vo
36 uolutantis) uoluptatis DVVo
31.5 equidem) eadem DV1
32.13 platanis creber platanis) cre. par. pla. DVVo
34.20 quod) quid DV1
53 restabit erumnas O) restauerit undas DVVo
78 uua) herba DVo
85 ludebat) laudabat DVVo
3.2.4 sustinuisse) detinuisse DVVo
3.11 Lares F: lacres LPZ: lacies N) alacres DV2Vo
29 imago) origo $D^{v1}V2Vo$
11.44 contis) cunctis DV1Vo
13.53 aurigero O) laurigero DV1
22.2 quae) qua DVVo
5 iuuat O) iuuant DV
4.1.89 Arria) accia F3, DV
108 petenda) petunda F2, DV1
129 cum) non DV1
2.5 haec) nec DVVo
19 noces) uaces DV1
28 corbis FLPZ mrus: corbis in N vc) corbis ab DV1
6.75 positis) potis DV
8.44 reccidit) decidit DV
84 sufficiat *uel* sufficat O) suffocat et DV1
9.43 quod) quid DVVo
11.8 herbosos) umbrosos DVVo

A number of these can serve as conjunctive errors, being found in no other copy (2.19.30, 2.20.19, 2.28.29, 2.29.28, 2.31.5, 4.2.28, 4.9.43). Others also appear in g (1.2.19, 2.29.13, 2.29.31, 2.29.36, 2.32.13, 2.34.20, 2.34.53, 2.34.78, 2.34.85, 3.2.4, 3.3.11, 3.3.29) and have presumably been inherited from M (some have been inherited from more remote sources, such as v and GSC, but M is likely to be the immediate source from which they reached DVVo). These M readings occur in the portion of the text that D 267 inf derived not from Z but from a second source; all of them, except for the minor slips at 1.2.19 and 2.34.20, appear in D 267 inf. Elsewhere the delta manuscripts reproduce or emend errors and interpolations of D 267 inf:

2.28.47 maneat d2) moueat d1DV1
3.11.44 contis) conctis d: cunctis DVVo
13.53 aurigero O) laurigero dDV1 (*recte*)
4.1.129 cum) non d1DV1
2.19 noces O) uoces d1Z: uaces d2DV1
11.8 herbosos) uerbosos d1: umbrosos d2DVVo

There might be another example at 4.6.75, where the corrector of D 267 inf wrote 'potis' in an erasure, perhaps emending some corruption such as 'postis.' These passages in which DVVo 'emend' errors of D 267 inf (3.11.44, 4.2.19, 4.11.8) are especially suggestive and strongly support the theory that they derive from D 267 inf corrected. If this hypothesis is correct, we must account for the presence of readings of Z in DVVo in those parts of the text which D 267 inf did not derive from Z (some of these are listed above, p 126). A few of these were in fact added to D 267 inf by the corrector (2.29.10 'dixerat,' 2.32.61 'siue es'), whose access to Z has been demonstrated. The source of DVVo also collated some descendant of F:

1.11.4 Misenis) mysteriis F1D
2.10.10 nunc) namque F3, DVo
13.53 niueum) iuuenem F1, D^{v1}
25.8 parma) palma FD^{v1}
4.11.54 alba) alta F1, D^{v1}

The owner of the source of DVVo may simply have collated every copy available.

The *editio princeps* (Venice 1472; see chapter 9, p 159 for the question of which Venetian edition of that year is in fact first) is apparently another descendant of D 267 inf after correction but independent of the source of DVVo. At 3.11.44 it retains 'conctis' against DVVo; its agreement with P in 'extremum' at 4.9.70 is also due to its descent from D 267 inf.[16] Paris BN lat 8236, which agrees frequently in error with LP or L alone (La Penna II 25-6), also shows some affinity with this edition.

Recent scholars examining the numerous manuscripts affiliated with DVVo have tended to take the independence of DVVo as established and to dismiss related manuscripts, including their sources, as contaminated from them.[17] Of the readings adduced by Enk to demonstrate the authority of DVVo not one is so far from the paradosis that it could not be the result of error or easy conjecture. The abundance of apparently good readings becomes significantly less impressive once the number of sources is appreciated; these include v, the source of GSC, the source of C, F, perhaps P, M (the source of all the

manuscripts discussed in this and the following chapter), D 267 inf, and the immediate source of DVVo. Enk's patronage of DVVo was inspired in part by two faulty assumptions, one that, the reading of N and the Petrarchan family being satisfactory, there was no need to resort to conjecture,[18] the other that the text of DVVo was prepared by a *uir doctus* of the Middle Ages; in fact it derives from a period of some sophistication in the emendation of Latin poetry and represents the work of able *uiri docti* through the previous forty years.

NOTES

1 F.A. Zaccaria *Iter litterarium* (Venice 1762) 158; the manuscript belonged to the library of the Carmelite Fathers of St Paul (I owe this reference to Mr Reeve). Perhaps Zaccaria misread the date; less likely, part of it might have been erased for commercial reasons to make the manuscript appear older.

2 For an account of this important manuscript cf M. Rogoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli' *IMU* 9 (1966) 123-89.

3 Cf *Le scoperte* I 126 note 3 and the article referred to in the introduction, note 32. The name Guarinus appears on f 89v as author of the poem *Nomina septenum* which Guarino wrote as a mnemonic device for Leonello d'Este; cf *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* ed R. Sabbadini (Venice 1915-19) II 265f.

4 For an example of his script ca 1414 cf fig 11 (Oxford Bodl Libr Bywater 38, his translation of Plutarch's *Dion*) with pp 106f and note 70 in A.C. de la Mare 'Humanistic Script: The First Ten Years' in *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch* Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Kommission für Humanismusforschung, Mitteilung IV ed F. Krafft and D. Wultke (Boppard 1977).

5 P probably reads 'tuetantis,' but the word is easily mistaken for *metantis*.

6 Whether X also read 'ignosco' is discussed above, p 82; it could of course have originated here by independent conjecture.

7 Since 'sola' for 'prima' is based upon Ovid *Rem* 764, the agreement is not necessarily significant. Neither of Tortelli's other citations (2.8.10 sv 'Deus,' 4.11.51 sv 'Cybele') helps to resolve the question. Plessis (44, note) reported after Chatelain that a twelfth-century Juvenal at Nice read 1.1.1 with 'sola' in a gloss. The manuscript (Nice Bibl mun 85, of the third quarter of the fifteenth century) has probably taken the line from Tortelli, who

mentions the passage of Juvenal to which the gloss is attached (6.7) in his article on Cynthia. For the citations from Catullus in Nice 85 cf Thomson 63.

8 It should be observed that Laur pl.38,37 also omits 'hanc' and that the related Voss lat 0.81 omits 'atque'; thus a disturbance may already have existed in the source of C or even in the source of GSC, since only GC are available here.

9 *Epistolario* (cf note 3) I 538f: 'Propertius hic apud nos non est, et, liceat alibi uiderim, gratum facies si tuo interuentu reuidero.' Guarino perhaps refers in 'alibi' to his residence in Florence during 1410-14, when he could have seen F or San Marco 690. Any manuscript sent to him from Florence in 1426 is likely to have been a copy of F (or of San Marco 690), of P, or of the common exemplar of LP. The derivation of 'Monobyblos' discussed in appendix 1 suggests that the common exemplar of LP or a copy was in Ferrara about 1450 or earlier; it is tempting to speculate that Guarino did receive such a copy.

10 The first serious challenge to the integrity of DV came from Postgate (introduction, p 7 and notes 25-6 and 28).

11 For Housman's advocacy cf the introduction, p 6 and notes 21-2, 27, 29. Enk's principal contributions appear in 'De codicibus Propertianis Daventriensi (D) et Ottoboniano-Vaticano (V)' *Mnem* 2 (1949) s IV 157-69 and 'Novae observationes de codicibus Propertianis Daventriensi I 82 (olim 1792) et Ottoboniano-Vaticano 1514' in *Hommages à L. Herrmann* Collection Latomus 44 (Brussels 1960) 339-45. His arguments are refuted effectively by La Penna (introduction, note 49).

12 This is Brit Libr Harley 2726 (brought to my attention by Dr de la Mare); cf *Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting* 42 (Spring 1965) 6, pl I.

13 For Regio and further examples of his annotations cf J. Ruysschaert 'Recherche des deux bibliothèques romaines Maffei des xv^{e} et xvi^{e} siècles' *Bibliofilia* 60 (1958) 306-55.

14 A miniature-hunter has removed the sumptuously decorated title page of D (traces remain visible on the flyleaf) so that it now lacks this line.

15 'Sanguine' appears in D as a variant reading but is not found in V; otherwise all such readings listed above (122) occur in all three.

16 The form in which the conjecture appears in D 267 inf strongly suggests that it is the corrector's own; he gives two alternatives, 'hercule ad extremmum' and 'herculis extremum ne sit inulta sitis.' The conjecture was probably suggested by the reading of the text 'Hercule extreminium'

(for the transmitted 'exterminium'). That the corrector used no other manuscript is also suggested by the conjecture at 4.9.57 'sic debet dicere Magnam hic tiresias aspexit pallada uates' (the text reads 'Magna tiresias aspexit palia uẽtes'). It does not follow, of course, that all the readings added by this corrector are his own conjectures; most probably came from the manuscripts that his hired scribes copied.

17 For example, La Penna (*L'integrazione difficile* 263f) briefly discusses Panormita's copy Vat lat 3273, an important source (through GSC) of the delta manuscripts. He describes it as largely affiliated with N but deeply interpolated from the Petrarchan family, from the delta recension, and from the C recension (by which he presumably means the descendants of Richmond's supposed Insular codex, but he does not use the siglum elsewhere in this discussion), and concludes that it fits well into the process of contamination and correction that, he states, the text was already undergoing in the third decade of the century. Since the truly distinctive delta readings cannot be traced earlier than about 1460 and Panormita's copy was written in 1427, it is prefereable to draw the line of contamination in the other direction; La Penna may have been influenced by his own suggestion that the delta manuscripts represent a recension prepared by Niccoli, but the date and provenance of DVVo make this quite unlikely.

18 The pages of Smyth's *Thesaurus Criticus* suffice to refute this notion. It should be realized that scribes who copied scarce texts like Propertius in the early Renaissance generally lacked the opportunity of comparing even a second exemplar; a good deal of early humanistic conjecture is not wilful interpolation but necessary emendation by *diuinatio*: textual criticism, in other words (this does not, of course, mean that then any more than now textual criticism was always practised with taste and discrimination). At least two of the more admired delta readings (4.6.75 'potis,' 4.11.8 'umbrosos') probably belong to this category.

6

Additional M Manuscripts

1 From the source of gZ derive four groups of largely northern Italian manuscripts in the 1450s and 1460s. Perhaps the earliest of these is what will be called here the epsilon group (two of its members belong to Mynors' class epsilon of Catullus manuscripts). Its members are Brescia Bibl Civ Queriniana A.VII.7 (perhaps Ferrarese, written about 1455-60), London Brit Libr Harley 2574 (a Neapolitan or Roman copy of the third quarter of the century, according to Dr de la Mare), and Leiden Voss lat 0.13 (origin unknown, contemporary with the others; it contains a text of Catullus that appears not to be related to the other two).[1] Through an examination of the extensive collection of mostly humanistic poetry represented at different lengths in all three, Cremona was able to show that their source probably originated in Ferrara in the 1450s.[2] Conceivably that source could be identified with a manuscript in the library of Aurispa, who died in Ferrara in 1459; Harley 2574 has its texts of Tibullus, Propertius, and Catullus in the same order as number 150 in a late inventory of Aurispa's library.[3]

All the strands present in gZ are also present in the epsilon manuscripts except for the readings from F. Their relationship to gZ can be illustrated economically from 2.9.43. Here M read 'magis' for 'nobis' in the text but retained 'nobis' as a variant ('magis' Z: 'nobis magis' g, D 267 inf^{ac}). The source of the epsilon manuscripts presented the same appearance but made two attempts to emend it. In one 'est' was supplied after 'magis' to repair the metre; in the other 'nihil' was taken from earlier in the line as an alternative for 'magis.' Brescia A.VII.7 has preserved the original form: 'te nihil in uita magis est acceptius unquam,' with 'nobis' in the margin; Leiden 0.13 ignored 'nobis'; Harley 2574 incorporated 'nihil' and omitted 'est,' thus: 'te nihil in uita

nihil magis acceptius unquam,' keeping 'nobis' as a variant. None is a copy of any other; the suggestion of Catullan scholars (given guarded approval by Thomson) that Harley 2574 might be a corrected copy of Brescia A.VII.7 can be refuted for Propertius by any of several examples below in which the Harley and Leiden copies have retained variants absorbed or obscured by the Brescia copy; and Harley 2574 offers the humanistic sylloge in fullest form. The epsilon manuscripts, though derived from the source of gZ, diverge frequently from g. The following list of such divergences incorporates both errors and interpolations (corrections by later hands in Leiden 0.13 are ignored; 'H 2574^{t}' indicates that the manuscript reads the lemma as a variant, 'H 2574^{vl}' in the text):

1.2.17 ida O) ide (*sc* Idae, *recte*) A.VII.7^{vl}, H 2574^{vl}, 0.13
11.10 Lucrina) lucerna
20.27 palmis) plantis (*recte*) A.VII.7^{vl}, H 2574^{vl}, 0.13
22.1 genus) domus
2.1.15 siue) seu
31 cum) qui
67 ille *om*
2.13 etiam O) uos
16 aget O) agat A.VII.7, H 2574^{vl}, 0.13^{vl}
3.26 forte) stulta A.VII.7^{vl}, H 2574, 0.13
27 non non) non nunc
45 iam *om*
8.31 fugas O) phrigas H 2574: phrigas^{fu} 0.13: phrygas^{fri} A.VII.7 (cf note 4)
12.10 iacet) sonat
14 perdidit) perdit et A.VII.7: perdidit et H 2574 (cf note 5)
23 lumina nigra) brachia longa A.VII.7^{t}, H 2574^{t}, 0.13
13.21 fulcro) pheretro
20.18 *om spatio relicto* H 2574, 0.13: quod sic nec nomen (*sic*) A.VII.7
21 *nouam elegiam inc* 'Ad Cynthiam' (*titulum om* 0.13; 'secundos [*sic*] aliquos continuatur cum praecedenti' H 2574)
29 uexetis) uersetis
32 ego) ex
24.5 spiraret) spirares (*quod coniecit Shackleton Bailey*)
25.15 obsistam teritur) obscura trahitur
28.38 condidit O) concinit (*recte*)
29.16 atque *om*
30.25 libeat ... mecum) liceat^{b} ... tecum^{m} H 2574, 0.13: liceat^{b} ... mecum^{f} A.VII.7
31 exstat) obstat A.VII.7, H 2574^{vl}, 0.13^{vl}

31.11 et quo O) auro A.VII.7^{t}, H 2574^{t}, O.13^{t}
32.28 senis O) senes (senex H 2574) (*recte*)
45 illam impune O) il. iam im.
34.47 grauis O) graui (*recte*)
49 tu *om*
3.2.14 rigat) ligat (liga H 2574)
3.9 uictricesque) uictorisque
15 est) o
47 coronatos *om*
5.35 serus) segnis
37 fines) ignes
11.12 aurea) laurea
27 raptem in crimine O) captem in carmina
22.3 sacra O) sacrae A.VII.7, H 2574^{t}, O.13
32 mouente) parante (cf Ov *H* 8.96 *matre parante*)
40 petendus) parandus A.VII.7^{t}, H 2574^{t}, O.13^{t}
4.1.1 quam O) qua A.VII.7^{vl}, H 2574^{vl}, O.13 (*recte*)
4 boues) fores
78 Horon) heron *in texte*, herops *pro uar lect*
106 umbrane qu(a)e N X: umbraque ne FLPZ) umbra neque hoc *in textu*, ue que (*sc* umbraue quae, *recte*) *pro uar lect* H 2574, O.13: umbraneque hoc A.VII.7
2.31 achei O) Iacchi (*recte*)
50 Vicus ... Tuscus) tuscus ... uicus
6.16 sinus) samos *pro uar lect*
25 Nereus: neruis O) lineus *in textu*, neruis *et* nereus *pro uar lect*
31 colla) terga A.VII.7^{t}, H 2574^{t}, O.13^{t}
48 inuito) et multo H 2574^{t}, O.13^{t}
8.58 clamat) uocabat
9.3 pecorosa) nemorosa (cf Ov *AA* 1.105 *nemorosa Palatia*)
6 urbanas) irdoanas A.VII.7, H 2574: irdonaas O.13
11.18 det) da H 2574^{t}, O.13^{t}
53 cuius rasos FLPZ: c. iasos X) cuius extinctos
82 credita) tradita

Many of these readings are not confined to the epsilon manuscripts (most of the good conjectures, however, are unique or are shared only with the eta group; see below for the agreement of other groups discussed in this chapter); they have been listed here because the epsilon manuscripts are the earliest to show them and because the nature of the evidence does not permit absolute certainty about whether they were present in the source of gZ. The corrector of D 267 inf added the readings at 1.20.27, 2.2.13, 3.22.3, and 3.22.32 to his copy; thus they at least could have been present in his source. The same manuscript reads in the text those at 2.30.25 and 3.3.9;

these too are likely to have been inherited from the source of gZ, since in the former passage g presents its own variation of what the epsilon manuscripts give, 'libeat ... tecum.' Independent derivation from M is established by passages where the epsilon manuscripts are closer to GSC or offer an interpolation motivated by a corruption of GSC which has been corrected in g. The single elegy 4.6 offers three examples, 'Samos' in 16 ('sanus' GSC), 'lineus' in 25 ('leneus' GSC), and 'et multo' in 48 ('inulto' GSC, read as 'multo,' with 'et' added for the metre). The number of good conjectures is remarkable; many of the readings cited by editors under the sigla V2 and Vo are taken from the eta manuscripts (see below) but appear first in the epsilon group. One wonders whether these manuscripts made as important a contribution to the emendation of Tibullus as to that of Catullus and Propertius.

2 Next in date is a group of three Paduan manuscripts of about 1460, to be called the eta group (one member belongs to Mynors' class eta of Catullus manuscripts); two of these were copied by Bartolomeo Sanvito, who rubricated all three. Vicenza Bibl Com Bertoliana G.2.8.12, copied by Sanvito, was written in Padua in 1460 for the Venetian Marcantonio Morosini, according to a note on the flyleaf; Genoa BU F.VI.15, with the arms of the Sanvito family, was also copied by Bartolomeo about 1460 (its decoration, however, is in Ferrarese rather than Paduan style); Bern Burgerbibliothek 517 was rubricated but not copied by Sanvito and is far less richly decorated than the other two (according to Dr de la Mare the initials may be Paduan or Roman; the northern origin of the other two perhaps favours Padua). A fourth manuscript, Rome Bibl Corsiniana Cors 43.E.8, written in Padua in 1460 for Niccolo Trevisan by Johannes Baptista Auretinus of Vicenza, is another early representative of this group. Like the epsilon group, the eta group derives from M and exhibits all of its strains of text except the readings from F; it agrees with more of the epsilon readings listed above (pp 133f) than any other family, having those at 1.2.17, 1.20.27, 1.22.1, 2.1.31, 2.2.13 and 16, 2.3.26 and 27, 2.8.31, 2.12.10, 2.13.21, 2.20.21 and 29, 2.24.5, 2.25.15 (in the form 'obscura teritur'), 2.28.38, 2.30.25 and 31, 2.31.11, 2.32.28, 2.34.47, 3.3.9, 3.5.35, 3.22.3, 32, and 40, 4.1.1, 78, and 106 (with 'haec' rather than 'hoc'), 4.2.31 and 50, 4.6.16, 25, and 48, 4.8.58, 4.9.3, 4.11.18, 53, and 82. Many of these have probably or certainly been inherited from M, others are interpolations that could have been made twice independently (such as 4.6.16 'samos' from 'sanus'); some, however, may be scribal errors (2.1.31, 2.20.29, 2.30.31, 4.11.82) and suggest that the eta manuscripts

could derive from the immediate source of the epsilon group. They are distinguished from the epsilon manuscripts by an apparently new strain of influence from C (cf 1.2.13 'persudent,' 1.11.10 'moueret,' 1.11.13 'tenues'; conceivably, however, these were present in the common source and ignored by other copies) and by certain errors and interpolations which appear here for the first time, such as:

1.1.19	deductae) subductae
11.11	teutantis *uel* tuetantis O) teutrantis (*sc* Teuthrantis, *recte*)
26	ero dicam) e. aut d.
13.26	illa) ille
20.31	cesset O) cessat
52	uisus O) rursus
2.19.2	colis O) coles (*recte*)
31.3	tanta O) tota
3.22.1	tam) iam
4.1.73	lacrimas cantas O) lacrimis Charitas

Such readings (if they are not readings of the source of gZ ignored in other copies) permit the identification of manuscripts related to the eta mnauscripts or their immediate source.

The most interesting of these is Mons Bibl Mun 218/109, the only close descendant of P. It reproduces the long and complex titles devised by the scribe of P as well as many of his interpolations (cf 2.9.38 'puer hic promit,' 4.2.30 'uitis mihi pone coronam'); the odd variant of P at 4.11.97 'subrigia' appears here in the form 'subrichia.' This is in effect our only evidence for the history of P after 1423 and before its discovery in Yugoslavia in the seventeenth century. The eta readings may point to Padua as the provenance of the Mons copy; it is written in a non-Italian Gothic hand with strong *bastarda* traits, and the scribe could have been a student from beyond the Alps who returned from University with a copy of the elegists (though one would still like to know how he came to use P). Padua, or more generally the Veneto, would be a likely point of passage for a manuscript copied in Florence and found two hundred years later in Dalmatia. Dr de la Mare, however, proposes another plausible explanation of the phenomena. Since Vat lat 5174 (see below) is also an eta manuscript and was copied in 1464 in Trogir, where P was discovered, she suggests that P and an eta manuscript had already reached Trogir when Mons 218/109 was copied and that the Mons manuscript may have been written there. The possible presence of P readings in the source of gZ is not necessarily a barrier to this hypothesis; some could have been supplied by the exemplar of LP, others could have arisen by independent conjecture.

Bartolomeo Squara, the scribe of Leiden I Lips F.43, is known from the subscription of another manuscript to have been born in 1450; a *terminus post quem* for his Propertius is provided by its dependence upon the 1475 Milan edition (cf chapter 9) as far as 2.14. Squara, who tended to ignore the variants present in his source, sometimes incorporated them into the text along with the readings to which they were alternatives. At 4.8.58, where the Vicentius has 'uocabat' in the text and the correct 'clamat' in the margin, Squara adopted 'clamat,' displacing not 'uocabat' but 'Teia,' thus: 'territa uicinas clamat uocabat aquas.' He showed equal comprehension when at 4.6.25, with the meaningless 'lineus' in the text and the correct 'Nereus' and the at least recognizable 'neruis' in the margin, he copied only 'lineus.'

Bibl Vat Vat lat 5174, mentioned above, was written at Trogir in 1464, perhaps by the Johannes Lipavich who wrote the poem on f 96v (on his return to Trogir after an outbreak of plague). Like Vat lat 5177 it is a straightforward eta manuscript. Both copies contain some of the same short poems, and both probably entered the Vatican Library in 1600 from the collection of Paolo Manuzio *giovane*; thus Vat lat 5177 may also have come from some area of Venetian domination.

Vat lat 3188 (a late Ferrarese manuscript, according to Dr de la Mare) is fundamentally an eta manuscript but shows some striking agreements with the Petrarchan family early in the text (1.1.3 'tunc,' 1.1.13 'ab arbore' as in the source of LP, 1.17.19 'peperissent'). These could perhaps have come from some descendant of L or from the exemplar of LP (further evidence perhaps, along with Paris 8236, that that manuscript reached Ferrara), but neither their nature nor their number permits greater precision concerning their origin.

Leiden Voss lat Q.117, cited by editors as Vo, has already been discussed in chapter 5; it has been heavily interpolated from some eta manuscript. At 2.31.11 it reads 'et auro quo'; this must derive from a copy in which the *signe de renvoi* for the variant 'auro' was placed between 'et' and 'quo' and led the copyist to insert rather than substitute the variant. Bern 517 also reads 'et auro quo.'

The majority of corrections entered in V by Ludovico Regio (also discussed above in chapter 5, p 125f) come from an eta manuscript, probably one now lost. At 1.11.26 the Vicenza, Genoa, and Bern copies all give 'ero aut dicam' for 'ero dicam' either in the text or in the margin; Vat lat 5174 and Regio read 'ego aut dicam,' while Vat lat 5177 has 'ego dicam.' Regio probably used neither Vat lat 5174, written in Dalmatia in 1464 and not likely to have reached Rome before 1600, nor Florence BN Baldovinetti 213, the only other manuscript to read 'ego aut dicam,' since it was probably copied in Bologna and seems never to have travelled south of its present home.

Since the original form of the correction was 'ero aut dicam' (sc 'quidquid ero aut dicam, Cynthia causa fuit'), 'ego' ('aut') is effectively a conjunctive error, and Regio must have collated some lost relative of Vat lat 5174. A lost Propertius may be at hand in the early inventories of the Vatican Library.[6]

Another half-dozen copies show the influence of the eta manuscripts and will be mentioned again in chapter 7: London Brit Libr Harley 2778 (Ferrarese) and Burney 241 (from the Veneto), Milan Bibl Ambros H 46 sup, Leiden BPL 133A, Paris BN lat 8237, and Bibl Vat Chigi H.IV.122. The trio that includes Grenoble 549 (on which again see chapter 7, pp 145f) shows slightly more eta readings.

3 Another group of manuscripts arose from M independently in northeast Italy at about the same time as the eta group (it will be called here the nu family). Its earliest member is San Daniele del Friuli Bibl Civ Guarneriana 56, written not later than 1461 (it is mentioned in an inventory drawn up in that year); the other datable member is Venice BN Marciana 4384, written in Padua in 1466 by Franciscus Mussatus. The other members are Venice BN Marciana 4208 and Bibl Vat Ottob lat 2003, of uncertain date and provenance. They exhibit all of the strains that make up the text of g except for the readings from F; from the long list in chapter 5 of readings of g after 2.29 (pp 123-4) they show only those also found in D 267 inf with the addition of 2.34.88 'quin' and 4.7.57 'ignes.' They show relatively few of the readings listed above as found first in the epsilon manuscripts (pp 133-4), having those at 2.28.38, 2.30.25, 2.32.28, 4.2.50, 4.6.48, 4.8.58, 4.9.3, 4.11.18 and 82. That the manuscripts do not derive from the epsilon group seems certain, since they sometimes have corruptions of the source corrected there by interpolation, such as 4.6.16 'sanus,' 3.5.35 'senis' (whence 'segnis'), and perhaps 3.3.9 'uictoresque' (altered to 'uictorisque' in apposition to 'Fabii'). They show none of the readings ascribed above to the eta manuscripts. Their affiliation is illustrated by such shared errors as:

4.1.53 uertite) uertice
2.43 tumidoque) tumideque O 2003, M 4384
6.78 regna) segna
9.21 torquet sitis) sit. tor.
40 uatas *uel* natas O) iratas
11.5 orantem) arantem
7 uota) cota O 2003, M 4384
69 fulcite) fugite O 2003, M 4384

Ottob lat 2003 and Marc 4384 would appear to be especially close, if their apparent shared errors are not errors of the source corrected in the other copies. Probably no one of the four is a copy of any other. Marc 4208, for instance, omitted 2.1.67 and conflated 66 and 68, Marc 4384 omitted 2.32.25-6, San Daniele 56 omitted 2.32.42, and Ottob lat 2003 confused the order of 3.2.20-4; none of these errors has left any trace in the other copies.

4 A fourth group originated from M no later than 1465 (to be called here the pi family). Its earliest representative is Naples BU IV.F.22, written in Bologna in 1465 by a 'uicarius potestatis'; next in date is probably Bibl Vat Barb lat 58 (the watermarks are apparently Ferrarese and Bolognese), of which Vat lat 1612, written in 1470, probably in Rome, may be a copy. Brit Libr Burney 241, a late manuscript from the Veneto, is affiliated with this family in Book 4. All four manuscripts contain the second version of the derivation of 'Monobyblos' printed and discussed in appendix 1, which probably originated in Ferrara. The text of the pi family combines the same sources as gZ and the other families discussed here but has made a different selection from among them; unlike the others it contains as variant readings two of the readings introduced from F (2.26.15 'prae inuidia,' 3.13.27 'pompa fuit'). It exhibits more of the interpolations and errors of g than the other families; from the list above (chapter 5, pp 123-4) it has those at 2.29.42, 2.30.15 and 36, 2.31.4, 2.33.7, 3.3.11, 4.1.12 and 71, 4.8.68, and 4.9.74 either as a variant or as the reading of the text with the paradosis as a variant. From the readings listed in this chapter (pp 133-4) as appearing first in the epsilon family, it shares those at 2.8.31, 2.28.38, 2.30.25, 4.2.50, 4.6.48, 4.8.58, 4.11.18, and 4.11.82. As with the nu family, derivation from the epsilon family appears excluded by passages in which it preserves an error of the source altered by conjecture in the epsilon group, such as 4.6.16 'samis' and 3.3.9 'uictoresque'; there may be another instance at 2.20.32, where the pi manuscripts omit 'ego,' for which the epsilon family reads 'ex.' Errors shared by these manuscripts alone include (Burney 241 is recorded only in Book 4):

1.20.51	monitus) moratis B 58^{t}: morbis B 58^{vl}, V 1612
2.1.51	pocula) pondera
4.1.24	calamos) thalamos
100	uteri) humeri
130	excultas) occultas (not B 241)

6.78 regna) signa
7.54 sibilet) scilicet (not B 241)

The nu and pi families might appear at first glance to share certain others:

4.1.6 deis) suis
79 sunt) sint
6.39 tibi) mihi
42 tuae) suae
81 parcet) paret

Another possible example is 4.6.78, where 'signa' in the pi family might be an *ad hoc* correction of 'segna' in the nu manuscripts. Such shared errors might well be illusory. The scribes who copied g from 3.3.8 to the end, especially the one who began at 4.6.58, tended to incorporate marginal readings into the text, while the scribes who wrote the earlier parts preserved both text and variant; in this way many errors of the source of gZ appear to have been corrected in g. The apparent shared errors of nu and pi could be errors of the source of gZ for which the scribes of g and the sources of the epsilon and eta groups adopted a correct reading introduced into the source of gZ by collation. A similar explanation probably applies to the cases where the epsilon, eta, nu, and pi groups appear to agree against g: g simply made a different choice between text and variant.

Clearly M was a fruitful source of manuscripts in northeastern Italy, especially around Ferrara and Padua; this may lend support to the suggestion made diffidently in chapter 5 that it is connected with Guarino (or at least with some scholar of comparable fame). In the sample texts the siglum M (mu) will be used to designate readings shared by g(Z) and the families discussed in this chapter, lower case mu for readings of g(Z) alone.

5 We can trace another minor offshoot of the same source, a copy which reached Florence no later than 1463, in time to be copied in the earlier part of Florence Bibl Laur Acquisti e doni 124 (with the ex-libris of Francesco da Castiglione dated 1463). The text written by the second scribe (3.9.55 *ad fin*) has already been discussed in chapter 4, note 2. Four manuscripts that reproduce this composite text can be regarded as descendants of Acq e doni 124. Perhaps the earliest (and perhaps a direct copy of Acq e doni 124) is Florence Bibl Laur pl.91 sup 24, written by Giorgio Antonio Vespucci about 1460-70. The others are Rome Bibl Corsiniana Rossi 43.D.36, perhaps also Florentine; Vienna Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 224, a certainly Florentine copy of about 1460-70 that

once belonged to Matthias Corvinus; and a copy, now in private hands,[7] captured by the first duke of Wellington in the battle of Vitoria (another Florentine codex of about 1460-70). All four reflect the dual nature of their source and sometimes retain both its errors and corrections,[8] as in the following examples, the first two involving readings inherited from M:

1.2.29 uerbis A 124^{vl}, F 91^{vl}, Cors^{vl}) dictis A 124^{t}, F 91^{t}, Cors^{t}, Well, V 224

11.6 extremo F 91^{vl}, Cors^{vl}, Well^{vl}, V 224^{pc}) merito A 124, F 91^{t}, Cors^{t}, Well^{t}, V 224^{ac}

4.1.2 herba F 91^{vl}, V 224) umbra A 124, F 91^{t}, Cors, Well

10 regna F 91^{vl}, Cors^{vl}, Well^{vl}, V 224) umbra A 124, F 91^{t}, Cors^{t}, Well^{t}

6.4 urna A 124^{vl}, F 91^{vl}, Well^{vl}) unda A 124^{t}, F 91^{t}, Well^{t}, Cors, V 224

35 flexos A 124^{vl}, F 91^{vl}, Cors^{vl}, Well^{vl}) fessos A 124^{t}, F 91^{t}, Cors^{t}, Well^{t}, V 224

38 Auguste Hectoreis A 124^{vl}, F 91^{vl}, Well^{vl}) hectoris auguste A 124^{t}, F 91^{t}, Well^{t}, Cors, V 224

9.23 audit Cors) audit *sic* A 124, F 91, Well: uidit V 224

49 fascia) marsia *sic* A 124, F 91, Well: fasta Cors: marsia V 224

Corvinus' manuscript is clearly last in line of descent; it may have been copied from Vespucci's, since Professor Thomson has informed me that the Catullus in it is related to Vienna 3198, also written by Vespucci.[9]

NOTES

1 Thomson 48-9

2 *Catulli codex Brixianus A.VII.7: prolegomenis instruxit, typis edendum curauit Verginius Cremona, praefatus est Ioannes Baptista Pighi* Studi Queriniani 2 (Bologna 1954)

3 A. Franceschini *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca* (Padua 1976). According to the inventory Aurispa's copy was on paper, like the three discussed here. Leiden 0.13 has its texts in the same order, but the Catullus appears to derive from another source. Failure of the inventory to mention the long sylloge would not be surprising. Nine other manuscripts contain Tibullus, Propertius, and Catullus in the same order; five of these are certainly too late (Bergamo Σ.2.33, Hamburg 139.4, Paris 8458, Barb lat 34, and Pal lat 910), while the others can be eliminated for other reasons (Göttingen philol 111^{b} is connected with scholars other than Aurispa; P can probably be rejected because the other texts are likely to have been mentioned

in the inventory; Venice, Museo Correr 549 and its probable copy Bodl Lat class e 3 are of uncertain date and show no signs of connection with any scholar). Aurispa also owned a parchment copy of Tibullus and Propertius (no 280).

4 The suprascript 'fri' in Brescia A.VII.7 is probably an error for 'fu,' as found in Leiden 0.13.

5 The source had 'perdit et' in the text with 'perdidit' as a variant. The scribe of Leiden 0.13 saw, as that of Harley 2574 did not, that 'perdidit' was an alternative not to 'perdit' but to 'perdit et.'

6 In the inventory of 1481 (Vat lat 3952 f 40, modern numeration) n 626 'in tertio bancho ad Dexteram Ingredientibus' is a 'Propertius ex membranis in rubeo.' The same copy still appears in the inventory of 1483 (?) (Vat lat 3947), in 1484 under Innocent IV (Vat lat 3949), and under Leo X (Vat lat 3955), but not in that of 1533 (Vat lat 3951), after the sack of Rome, unless a copy is concealed under the name of Tibullus or Catullus, both of whom do appear.

7 The manuscript was sold at Sotheby's 19 June 1979 (lot 44).

8 The fate of 'dictis' in 1.2.29 illustrates that of all the metrically equivalent readings of M in Books 1-2; Vespucci preserved the original state of affairs, while the scribes of Vienna 224 and the Wellington copy tended to restore the paradosis.

9 Francesco da Castiglione and Vespucci were certainly acquainted; a letter of the former dated 1452 refers to the latter as 'noster Georgius' (Florence BN Magl XXXIX 86, f 68). Francesco was also acquainted with Tortelli; an affectionate letter appears on f 147 of Vat lat 3908. Since there is some reason to suppose a connection at least between associates of Tortelli and g, perhaps Francesco received his second copy of Propertius through such channels.

7

A Humanistic Vulgate

The largest class of *recentiores* comprises those which combine readings of F and M or g with or without additional influences. Such a combination of the two strains could have arisen independently on numerous occasions, since manuscripts were plentiful in the second half of the century; one cannot, however, exclude absolutely the possibility that all such copies are variously corrected and interpolated descendants of a single codex.

Pal lat 1652 has already been mentioned in chapter 4 for its affiliation with the Tomacellianus; its text in Books 1-3 is related to a group whose members include Venice Bibl del Museo Civico Correr 549, Oxford Bodleian Library Lat class e 3, Dublin Trinity College Library 929, Salamanca BU 86,[1] Paris BN lat 8237, and Bibl Vat Barb lat 34, Chigi H.IV.122, and Chigi H.IV.123. Another copy, Rome Bibl Vallicelliana F.93, is slightly less close. These share, for instance, the following errors:

1.1.3	constantis) constantes *omnes*
11.3	Thesproti) iliem properti P 1652^{t}: illies properti C 549: trespotii P 1652^{vl}, D 929: tespioti H.IV.123, B 34^{ac}, S 86^{ac}
20.28	supina) suspiria P 1652, C 549, e 3 ('supiria'), P 8237, H.IV.122^{vl}
2.1.25	tui) tiri P 1652, C 549, e 3, S 86, B 34^{ac}: titi D 929
3.33-4	hac *ambobus locis*) ah P 1652, D 929, C 549 *et* e 3 (34 ah *pro uar lect*, at *in textu ambo*), B 34: 33 ast, 34 at *cett* (*nisi quod* 34 id S 86)

Certain smaller groupings can be established. Bodl Lat class e 3 is quite possibly a direct copy of Museo Correr 549:

1.20.13 frigida NX: turbida A) turbida *in uersu*, frigida *pro uar lect* C 549: turbida saxa frigida e 3
29 secluditur) concluditur C 549: sub concluditur e 3

Salamanca 86 and Chigi H.IV.123 are also closely related (it is assumed here that the text of the latter, written by three successively later hands, is homogeneous):

4.1.31 Tities) Tideus
67 *nouam elegiam inc*
7.94 eris) etiam
8.26 uincet) uino et
68 ad) in
83 dein) dehinc

One wonders whether 'Tideus' at 4.1.31 might be related to the error 'Ticieus' found in Vallicelliana F.93; this manuscript, however, shares none of the other errors listed. Chigi H.IV.122 and Paris 8237 form another closely related pair, with which Vallicelliana F.93 shows some affinity. These have more g readings than the other manuscripts just discussed; cf 3.13.62 'uerax' ('uas'), 4.9.5 'stagnabant' ('frangebant'), 4.9.7 'hospite' ('ordine'). This could indicate that they are the closest of the copies considered here to their common source, but the possibility that contamination introduced even these incorrect readings cannot be dismissed out of hand; since they also agree sometimes with Vicenza G.2.8.12 and kin (cf 1.1.19 'subductae,' 1.1.30 'annuet'), there may have been another channel of contamination, but derivation from the common source of the epsilon and eta groups (chapter 6, pp 135-6) is also possible. Whatever their origin, they are linked by a group of shared errors, including:

1.13.4 Galle) Galla P 8237, H.IV.122^{vl}
2.9.1 saepe *om* (also Vall F.93)
20.32 tumque ego) tum ego P 8237: tunc ego H.IV.122
32.57 ut aiunt *om* (also Vall F.93)

The case of 2.30.32 suggests that, if one is copied from the other, Paris 8237 (a scholar's copy written on paper) is the exemplar and Chigi H.IV.122 (a modest but elegant parchment codex) the copy. The four manuscripts Paris 8237, Chigi H.IV. 122, Correr 549, and Lat class e 3 could perhaps share an intermediate source (all except e 3 read 'etiam' for 'quondam' at 2.13.36; the correct reading was present in Correr 549 as a variant), but such errors could as easily be errors of the source corrected in other copies. It should be added

that Barb lat 34 is, if not the manuscript from which the 1472 de Spira edition was printed, at least closely related to it:

1.12.9 an quae) atque
17.11 reponere) opponere
20.23 inuicti) inuitis
2.25.39 officia) offa m (*sic*) B 34: offam *ed*
34.49 per te) parte
57 regnem) regimen
4.6.52 iusta) iuste

A number of these persist in the editions that derive from the de Spira (discussed in chapter 9).

Attention was drawn in chapter 3 to three Milanese manuscripts of about 1470-80 which share readings derived from collation of N: Grenoble Bibl mun 549, written in Pavia in 1472, Milan Bibl Ambros I 67 sup, and Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dc 133. Perhaps the handsome Dresden and Milan manuscripts derive from the humble Grenoble copy, a paper codex well supplied with variant readings. The text, though fundamentally an unexceptional conflation of F and g readings, includes interpolations which, as much as the collation of N, suggest the influence of a scholar; the following list incorporates some of these and some shared errors:

1.1.13 uulnere) pondere
12.1 crimen) carmen
2.8.3 nullae sunt inimicitiae) sunt inim. nullae
19.32 non) me Gren^{t}, I 67^{t}: ne Gren^{vl}, I 67^{vl}: non Dc 133^{pc}: n** Dc 133^{ac}
20.16 cinis heu I 67) heu cinis Gren: h^{b}eu ci^{a}nis Dc 133
26.48 compressa) comprehensa
28.2 mortua) gloria
33.7 tu certe Iouis occultis in amoribus) tu ce. in Io. oc. am.
3.2.3 Orphea detinuisse) Orpheu te tenuisse
13.3 certa quidem) certe equidem
22.37 truces) cutes
4.1.78 Conone) Zenone
89 Arria) Ortia Gren^{vl}, Dc 133
11.70 uncturis O) in curis

Gren 549 has a note on 4.7.37 which may offer some clue to the identify of this scholar ('credo aliquid deficere aut testum incorrectum .g.'). Another scholar added variant readings to Ambros I 67 sup; some at least appear to be his own conjectures. At 2.30.13 his note 'Alia est materia: et aliqua deficiunt' implies a lacuna after 12 (so also Baehrens,

Reitzenstein, Ites, and others) and a new elegy beginning at 13 (so Heimreich and others; Smyth should be consulted for a detailed survey of such proposals). One curiosity is that 1.20.51-2 are marked with the note 'isti duo uersus ponuntur in fine huius helegiae' (ie at the end of 1.21, which is continuous with 1.20) and 1.21.9-10 with the note 'isti duo uersus ponuntur in loco penultimo sequentis helegiae'; the result is an elegy consisting of 1.20.1-50, 21.1-8, and 20.51-2, and another of 22.1-8, 21.9-10, and 22.9-10. The same arrangement has been indicated differently by a correcting hand of about 1500 in Oxford Bodl Library Add B 55 (a Milanese copy of 1451, discussed in chapter 4, part 3, p 111): 21.8 is marked 'a,' 20.51-2 'b' and 'c,' 21.9-10 are deleted in their proper position and supplied after 22.8. One wonders why: the transpositions make nonsense of all three (or two) poems, and there is no secure evidence for emendation by transposition before Scaliger. Perhaps these correctors deferred to the authority of some manuscript now lost; but if this is the first conjectural transposition in Propertius, it made an inauspicious beginning.

Together with these, approximately a dozen less individualized copies constitute the *profanum uulgus* of Propertius manuscripts: Escorial g.iii.12 (a Roman manuscript of the third quarter of the century, according to Dr de la Mare), Leiden B.P.L. 133A, Leningrad Q.V.3,[2] London Brit Libr Burney 241,[3] Harley 2778 (Ferrarese, third quarter of the century, according to Dr de la Mare, with arms of the Strozzi family), Add 17417 and 23766 (the latter written by the poet Mattia Canali, probably in Ferrara, in 1468), Milan Bibl Ambros F 90 sup and H 46 sup (another Ferrarese manuscript of the third quarter of the century), Padua Bibl Capitolare C.77, and Wolfenbüttel Helmst 338 (probably the earliest of these copies, written in Ferrara in 1461 by Johannes Carpensis). Escorial g.iii.12 merits brief mention to itself as the only one of these copies certainly written outside northern or north-eastern Italy. It is not a copy of Pal lat 1652, but an early corrector has added one of Manetti's conjectures (1.11.3 'Trespotii puto,' based on Lucan 3.179). The following table records the agreement of these manuscripts in a variety of errors or interpolations of F or its correctors and g:

1.17.15	leuius) melius (g^{vl}) (not F 90, H 338, C.77, Q.V.3)
	sepelissent) peperissent ($A^{ac}F1$) (not A 23766, Q.V.3)
20.29	secluditur) subcluditur (g^{t}) (not A 17417)
2.1.3	haec [Calliope]) mihi (F3) (not A 23766)
21	nec) non (AFP) (not F 90)
2.2	tunicas) tunicam (FP) (not F 90, H 46, g.iii.12)

3.3 requiescere) cognoscere (FP) (not H 338, A 17417, g.iii.12, H 2778, F 90, 133A, B 241)
7 seueris) serenis (F) (not H 2778, H 338)
9.38 precor) quidem (FPg^{vl}) (not B 241)
10.9 procedere) succedere (F) (not g.iii.12)
10 nunc) namque (F3) (iamque B 241)
11.1 scribant de te alii uel) scribebant alii ne (F3) (scribebant de te alii uel B 241)
13.47 minuisset) meminisset (g^{t}) (H 2778, H 46^{vl}, F 90, B 241, 133A, C.77, H 338, A 17417
minuisset) iurasset (F3) (H 46^{t}, A 23766
26.15 ob inuidiam) prae inuidia (Fg^{vl}) (not B 241)
23 flumina) filia (F3) (not H 2778, F 90, B 241, 133A, A 17417)
34.88 quis) quin (g^{t}) (not H 46, g.iii.12, Q.V.3)
3.11.14 Maeotis) iniectis (Fg) (not Q.V.3, A 23766)
13.27 munus erat) pompa fuit (F3, g) *omnes*
4.1.42 abiegni) ambigui (FP^{pc}, g) (not H 46, 133A, A 23766, Q.V.3, g.iii.12)
2.2 paterna) petenda (FLPZg) (not H 338, 133A)
7.55 sortita) quaesita (g) *omnes*
56 remigat) nauigat (g) *omnes*
59 parta O) uecta (g) *omnes* (*at* uexa C.77)
8.57 ungues) ignes (g) (not F 90)
9.5 stagnabant) frangebant (g) *omnes*
11.14 et sum) ipsum (g) (not H 2778, H 46, F 90, 133A, A 17417, C.77, H 338)
53 cuius rasos FLPZ: c. iasos X) cui commissos (g) *omnes*

A few smaller groupings can be proposed. Brit Libr Add 23766 and Leningrad Q.V.3 are related:

1.11.20 erit) iter
12.19 mi) ah
2.1.54 Colchis) colchia
9.28 quisue *om in lac* A 23766^{ac}: quisne A 23766^{pc}, Q.V.3

The last example suggests that Add 23766 may be the exemplar and Leningrad Q.V.3 the copy. Ambros H 46 sup and Harley 2778, among other shared errors, omit 'Numam' in a lacuna at 4.2.60; 'tamen' in Leiden B.P.L. 133A could represent an attempt to fill this gap. Ambros F 90 sup and H 46 sup, Leiden B.P.L. 133A, Burney 241, and Harley 2778 have all undergone some influence from the eta group, reading, for instance, 'subductae' at 1.1.19, but this is far from establishing that they form a distinct family.

NOTES

1 This copy now lacks 1.1.1-1.2.11 and 2.34.56-3.1.11, lost when two leaves containing decorated initials were removed.
2 This copy has been damaged severely and now contains only 1.2.19-1.3.42; 1.10.21-1.19.14; 2.1.31-2.10.18; 2.14.17-4.2.22; and 4.3.39-4.6.28. This should be remembered when reading the table of agreements that follows.
3 This manuscript's text of Book 4 was discussed in chapter 6 as deriving from a different source; it has therefore been disregarded below in reporting readings for that Book.

8

Scholars' Copies

A number of manuscripts either resist stricter classification or merit separate mention because of their contribution to the emendation of the text; sometimes the scholars whose corrections they incorporate can be identified.

Pacificus Maximus Irenaeus of Ascoli composed an enormous quantity of prose and verse during a long and busy life. A number of manuscripts copied by him passed to the library of San Salvatore in Bologna in time to appear in the inventory made about 1533 by Fabio Vigili; at least five are now in the University Library of Bologna, while two others were abstracted from San Salvatore, one certainly in the sixteenth century. Maximus regularly recorded date and place of copying; the chronological order of the known manuscripts is Bologna BU 2788 Orosius (Perugia, 3 February 1465); BU 2790 Juvenal and Persius (Perugia, 7 October 1466); Brit Libr Egerton 3027 Propertius, Tibullus, Catullus, *Priapea* (Perugia, 6 February 1467); Bologna BU 2787 Ovid (Perugia, 13-14 June 1467); Bibl Vat Ottob lat 1176 Cicero *Ad familiares* (Aquila and Siena, 1469); Bologna BU 2786 Lucan (Siena, 4 July 1475); BU 2793 Julius Consultus (Ferrara, December 1479).

The erased ex-libris and shelfmark of San Salvatore (326) are both legible under ultra-violet light on f 1 of Egerton 3027. At some time between the date of Vigili's inventory and 1577, when Scaliger, who had borrowed it from his friend Jacques Cujas, used it for his edition, Egerton 3027 left Bologna; it probably remained in France until shortly before it was purchased in London in the middle of the nineteenth century. Palmer identified it as Scaliger's Cuiacianus; Scaliger's own collation survives in a copy of the 1569 Plantin edition at the University Library of Leiden (755.H.23). Egerton 3027 underwent two stages of correction, but all the notes and variants are in Maximus' hand; the second stage

shows knowledge of the emendations of Beroaldus (such as 4.8.23 'serica nam taceo'). Maximus was an uneven critic; one of his conjectures, 4.8.37 'uitrique' ('utrique' NX: 'uterque' FLPZ), has found universal acceptance since its revival by Scaliger, while others are implausible. The descent of Egerton 3027 can be traced with exceptional ease; it is a copy of the already interpolated Ravenna 277, which derives from v (see chapter 3, addendum, pp 87f). Maximus' own contributions, which can be isolated with facility, include the following (here and elsewhere in this chapter the attributions of Smyth are added in parentheses):

1.1.2 Cupidinibus) libidinibus *vl* (also in Poppi 54)[1]
13 percussus uulnere) perculsus robore (perculsus *Passerat*: robore *Rossberg*)
33 amaras) inanes *vl*
2.26 sat est) satis
11.15 amoto) hamato (glossed 'decepto')
13.16 iniectis) insertis (*Phillimore 1914*)
20.12 adriacis O) Idiacis
25 fratres Aquilonia proles) pro. Aqu. fra.
2.2.9 Ischomache) Ischomene
3.29 nata) rara (*Scaliger*)
34 pulchrius hac) pulueris haec
9.16 uiro) toro (*Scaliger*)
10.15 colla) tela
34.29 Erecthei) Cyrrhei
61 deus) puer
3.13.34 uiris) comis
4.1.120 nouis) tuis (*Markland*)
6.2 focos) pedes
5 blandi) blandos
11.100 grata) grande (*Koppiers*, *Peerlkamp* with further alterations)

Maximus appears to have been the only *Italus* to conjecture *toro* at 2.9.16.

From about the 1460s Rome becomes a significant centre of Propertian scholarship. Chapter 3 introduced Casanatense 15, which incorporates some conjectures of the head of the Roman Academy, Pomponio Leto. Barb lat 23 is a late Roman manuscript signed by Paulus of Viterbo. Its text combines both skilful emendations and numerous scribal errors; some of the former have earned general acceptance:

2.8.39 marte O) matre
9.12 fluuiis O) flauis (*Heinsius*)
3.22.15 orige O) Ortigiae (*Lachmann*: Ortygie *Haupt*)

Another conjecture attributed to Heinsius is found at 2.6.36 ('male' for 'mala'); perhaps this was among the codices that he collated in Rome. Two peculiarities of Barb lat 23 deserve mention. One is the attempt by a late hand to interpolate the following lines between 1.3.33 and 34:

Et subito aduentu palluit illa meo.
Mox, ut erat, neglecta comas et pectore nudo

According to Broekhuyzen's note, Latinus Latinius of Viterbo (1513-93) cites the lines as belonging to this passage. The hand that added them to Barb lat 23 is late enough to have taken them from Latinius; conceivably it could be Latinius himself (the readings attributed by Smyth to 'Itali apud L. Latinium' come from Barb lat 23). The second is the scribe's mania for inscriptions. Irrelevant inscriptional abbreviations dot the margins: 1.22.4 'STS' (ie, 'sit tibi semper'), 2.6.1 'A.O' ('amico optimo'). The title to 2.29 ends with a completely inappropriate sepulchral mott, 'Ad Cynthiam Quae Ebrius Hesterna Nocte Somniauerit. L.P.S.' (ie, 'locum posuit suis'); some titles are abbreviated as though they were inscriptions, such as 2.9 'CON.CYN̄.CV̄ AM̄.GAVDE.'[2]

A similar interest in the epigraphical remains of ancient Rome is apparent in Vat lat 3274, copied by Parthenius Minutius Paulinus, a member of the Roman Academy. He wrote out the following immodest inscription on f 111v:

VOTVM APOLLINI
PARTHENIO MINVTIO PAVLINO ROMANAE
ADOLESCENTIAE ET HONESTATIS PRINCIPI
VVLGI INVIDIA FELICISSIMO PVDICISS.Q:
DECRETO PVBLICO
ARCVS TRIVMPHALIS.TEMPLVM.ET COLOSSVS
DICATVS EST

From about 2.10 to the end his Propertius is copied from the de Spira edition of 1472; to that point it is related to Paris BN lat 8459 and the Groninganus, discussed below. Unique readings of Vat lat 3274, and therefore possible conjectures of Paulinus, include 1.20.30 'uolucrum ... insidiam' (for 'uolucres ... insidias') and 33 'Argantophigii' (for 'Arganthi Pege').

Paris 8459 (1.1.1-3.15.46 only) was also written by a member of the Roman Academy. After 2.32 it is copied from the Reggio edition of 1481; its text of the remainder was discussed in chapter 4. Its most interesting unique reading is 2.20.12 'statiliamque' (glossed 'bullata') for 'transiliamque.' It shares some interpolations with the once famous codex

Groninganus (Groningen Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek Academiae 159), which Lachmann considered the best manuscript of Propertius and thought free from interpolation; it originated in Roman scholarly circles about 1470 and offers a heavily corrected text. Three observations establish its Roman origin. One is the title on f 1, 'Propertii Nautae Meuan. Vmbri Cynthia,' written by Bartolomeo Sanvito, who worked in Rome after Padua; the second is the title 'Cynthia' itself, which elsewhere appears only in Leto's copy Casanatense 15, rubricated by Sanvito; the last is 'stafiliamque' at 2.20.12, impugned in the commentary of Gaspar Manius that fills the margins of Vat lat 1612 and was prepared with Leto's assistance.[3] The Groninganus shows considerable affinity with Rome Bibl Casanatense 3227, written about 1468-72, whose scribe has been identified by M.D. Reeve as Franciscus Maturantius, a Perugian scholar who worked chiefly in Rome. Maturantius favoured long titles, such as this for the six-line epigram 2.11: 'Cynthiam quae ipsum spernebat monet nisi ab eo laudetur nomen eius una cum corpore interiturum.' At least one quite certain emendation whose author has so far remained unknown can confidently be assigned to him, 'sua maternis' for 'sum(m)a eternis' in 4.7.65 (the Groninganus, which also reads this, is probably a copy of Casanatense 3227 here; see below).[4] Maturantius contributed a large number of conjectures, among them the following:

1.11.21	an mihi non maior carae custodia matris O) an mihi sit carae maior custodia matris
12.2	conscia) Cynthia *pc* (*Passerat*, *Postgate*, *alii*)
20.34	Thyniasin) Prusiados *pc*
22.2	semper) nuper *v1*
2.1.4	ipsa) sola *v1*
3.22	carmina quae quiuis non putat aequa suis) carminibus quae quis non putet aequa suis (putet *Postgate*)
10.3	ad) in *v1*
22	ponitur hac imos ante corona pedes) p. ante i. ipsa c. p.
13.25	sat mea sit magna O) sat sit magna mihi
48	gallicus O) Troicus *pc* (*Santen*: Troius *Heinsius*)
24.38	diues) certus *v1*
26.21	nunc) numquam
27.6	terrae) longae *pc*
28.60	choros) choris
32.3	nam) sed (*Weidgen*)
33.12	mansisti stabulis O) m. et s. (*Heinsius*)
34.94	uolet) uelit
3.5.3	nec) non *pc* (ς, *Postgate dub.*)
22.6	et O) nec *v1* (ς, *Guyet*, *Broekhuyzen*, *Baehrens*, *Luck*)

4.1.65 uallibus) collibus (*Scioppius*)
117 uictor Oiliade) Iliade o uictor
2.39 curare O) curuare (ς, *Passeret*, *Guyet*)
11.97 numquam mater lubrigia (lubrica FLPZ) sumptum O) nomen m. Lubricia s.

In the following cases the Groninganus agrees in an error or interpolation with Casanatense 3227 (some of these might also be conjectures of Maturantius):

2.24.29 utinam) autem
26.25 recitat) residat
28.51 Iope ... Tyro) Iole ... Pyrrho
29.40 saxa O) sacra
32.5 cur) cum
8 sed) nam (ς, *Lachmann*)
33.31 Eurytion) eurythi Cas 3227: eurythii Gron
3.2.19 ducti) coeli
5.3 nec) non Cas 3227^{pc}, Gron
13.20 licuisse) uoluisse
29 mixta) musta (ς, *Gebhard*)
4.1.87 cades) clades
11.50 turpior) at prior Cas 3227^{pc}, Gron^{ac}

Enough of these are scribal errors to permit the suggestion that, at least from about the middle of Book 2, the Groninganus did not simply collate Casanatense 3227 but copied it. Earlier in the text, as has been observed, the Groninganus sometimes agrees with Paris 8459:

2.19.32 non O) ne
20.13 ad surdas mihi dicitur aures) absurdas miseri dicatur in aures
16 heu *om*

Maturantius' copy is related to the Tomacellianus (discussed in chapter 4, pp 106-10), with which (and some of its other relations) it shares such readings as the interpolated version of 2.10.10 'nunc aliam ad citharam me mea Musa uocat.'

One pair of manuscripts reflects the effort of at least two probably northern Italian scholars. Of the history of Bergamo Bibl Civ Σ.2.33, probably copied near the end of the century, nothing is known; its companion, Brit Libr Harley 5246, was certainly written by a scholar and shows an additional degree of interpolation beyond that shared with the Bergamo copy. Harley 5246 includes these lines in a subscription:

Hoc tibi sume pater transcriptum Paule uolumen
Quod tibi perpetuum nostri fore pignus amoris
Obsecro, materia quando sunt uatis erotes.

The first four words are written again after this, perhaps by a later hand. In both cases the third word is unambiguously 'sume,' not 'summe' as reported in the catalogue of the Harley collection, which understands Pope Paul II as the dedicatee. An early parchment flyleaf fashioned from a legal document dated 1385 which concerns a monastery in Piacenza suggests that the manuscript might have originated in north-central Italy. The Harley and Bergamo copies are united by a considerable number of errors and interpolations, including:

1.2.1	procedere) producere
12.4	Eridano) hadriano Harl: adriano Berg
20.14	neque expertos) nec expertes
32	ibat Hylas ibat Amadrias hinc O) hinc Hylas hinc ibat Hamadryas
2.1.19	ego) ita
9.11-14	*om*
15.25-26	*om*
19.30	fusa) missa
32.40	naica dona O) ba(c)chica d.
34.9	*nouam elegiam inc 'Ad Lynceum'*
3.1.15-18	*om*
3.34-5.27	*om*

Neither is a copy of the other: Harley 5246 is not copied from Bergamo Σ.2.33, since the latter at 1.12.4 has an interpolation based upon an error of the former, while Bergamo Σ.2.33 cannot be a copy of Harley 5246, which omits words and lines found in the former, such as 1.20.12 'adriacis' and all of 2.1.70 (where Berg reads 'brachide,' which perhaps motivated the omission by Harl); the shared omission of 3.3.34-5.27 may suggest that both derive independently from a manuscript that had (probably) 34 to 35 lines per page. Somewhere between 3.11 and 3.22 the Bergamo manuscript changes affiliation and aligns itself with Brescia A.VII.7 and kin (discussed in chapter 6). The following list incorporates some of the more interesting examples of the individual errors and interpolations of Harley 5246 (after 3.22, of course, its unique readings cannot be separated from those of its source with certainty):

1.1.21	conuertite) peruertite
2.1.61	Epidaurius) Epidamnius
8.28	tu moriere) te moriente
9.26	poterentur) biberentur

13.36 seruus amoris erat) δοῦλοσ ἐρωτοσ ἐην
43 animam) uitam
20.12 stasiliamque O) Thrasyliamque
28.51 Tyro) Dido
34.32 inflatis omnia O) inflantis Aetia
3.11.58 territa) tetrica
13.34 siluicolis) drymodromis
2.4.7 hac ... Tiberinus) ah ... tiberonis
31 cinge) finge
achei O) Achilli
56 pedes) deos
6.35 Pythona) Dodona
11.41 nec [ulla] O) neque

While the pretentious compound 'drymodromis' and the half line of Greek recall the very worst efforts of the *Itali*, the scribe's knowledge of Callimachus' 'Aitia,' despite the faulty metre, is more impressive; clearly, however, he was not as succesful a critic as Pontano, Maturantius, or even Pacificus Maximus. The common source of the Harley and Bergamo copies may be a descendant of the group whose principal representatives are Parma 140 and Wrocław AKC 1948 KN 197 (discussed in chapter 4, pp 96-100); they also retain 'brachide' from the Petrarchan family and fail to separate 2.27 from 2.26 but for the most part have a fairly correct text derived from X.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 57 was copied in Ferrara, according to Dr de la Mare; it is dated 1481 and contains the initials of one 'G.F.,' presumably the scribe. The basic text is an unremarkable descendant of g, with some readings from the family of the Tomacellianus (chapter 4, pp 106ff); a number of good or interesting conjectures appear in the text and margins. In 2.1.45, for instance, it reads 'uersamus' in the text one year before the edition of Volscus to which the conjecture is now attributed. There are several interesting agreements with manuscript readings reported by Beroaldus:

1.20.12 adriacis O) in Dryadis B 57^{pc}: 'in Dryadis: quae lectio non displicet' Ber
2.13.1 etrusca O) Sussa B 57^{vl}: 'Quocirca censeo ita emendandum esse Susa pro Ethrusca ... et Susa pro Aethrusca scriptum legi in codice Ioannis Pici Mirandulí' Ber[5]
32.1 *priori continuant codd omnes praeter B 57*: 'Quidam coniungunt haec superioribus: sed ut mihi uidetur male' Ber
3.3.41 praeconia) praetoria B 57^{t}: 'legimus in codice reuerendae uetustatis praetoria classica' Ber

4.1.20 curto) curuo B 57^t: 'Quidam codices habent curuo' Ber

71 *nouam elegiam inc B 57*: 'Nonnulli seiungunt haec a superioribus sed melius est ut iuncti legantur' Ber

Not all of the manuscript readings cited by Beroaldus are found in Berlin 57, but it could have been one of his sources (one hopes that he did not seriously regard Berlin 57 as 'reuerendae uetustatis,' since it was written only five years before his commentary); the reference to the codex of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola is most intriguing. Among the conjectures of Berlin 57 the anticipation of Housman's 'Teucris' at 2.8. 30, the separation of 2.32 from 31, and the joining of 4.8, which the tradition presents divided at 29, deserve notice. Two Ferrarese manuscripts from the end of the century, both written by the same scribe, are close to this copy, former Abbey 3242 and Modena Bibl Est Est lat 680; the latter could perhaps be the Propertius that figures as number 397 in a 1495 inventory of the library of Duke Ercole I.[6]

The manuscript copied and annotated by Giovanni Pontano has already been mentioned (chapter 4, p 108). It was published by Ullman in 1959; considering the fame of Pontano as an emender of Latin poetry, it is surprising that editors have not exploited it for his conjectures. The statement of La Penna (*L'integrazione* 267) that in this manuscript 'l'apporto filologico del Pontano non e'grande' is puzzling in view of the extensive marginal notes and variants; Hanslik correctly states (ix) that 'adnotationibus et marginalibus scatet' but made little use of them, since again and again he fails to report its most remarkable readings while citing the commonplace. To separate Pontano's conjectures from manuscript readings is difficult; it is complicated by the possibility (discussed in chapter 4, p 107f) that some readings of the text are also conjectures of Pontano and by his having consulted the commentaries of Beroaldus and Volscus. Relative dating is uncertain and priority can be impossible to establish, but it would probably be safe to ignore all the readings that can have come from either edition. Pontano is now credited with only one widely accepted emendation, 2.24.38 'non ita' (for 'nauita'). This, however, is a conjecture of Beroaldus (explicitly claimed as such by its author) which Pontano happened to record in his copy; Puccius found it there without indication of authorship and ascribed it to Pontano, whence the modern attribution.[7] Certain readings which do not appear elsewhere in the manuscript traditon and which apparently anticipate conjectures of later scholars may be assigned to Pontano:

1.20.13	sint duri O) sit duros (ς, *Lipsius*, *Heinsius*)
2.4.8	per Medeae ... manus O) Perimedea ... manu (*Muretus*)
6.12	qua O) quae (*Dousa filius*, *Guyet*)
3.9.25	hostes O) hastas (*Markland*, *Burman*)
10.1	misissent O) uisissent (*Guyet*, *Heinsius*)
16.16	percutit O) praecutit (*Guyet*, *Heinsius*, *Markland*)
17.27	Naxon) Diam (*Palmer 1880*)
4.3.9	Britannia) Briannia (Briantia *Postgate 1912*)
11.49	quaelibet) quamlibet (*Livineius*, *Guyet*, *Koppiers*)

In some cases (probably 1.20.13, 2.4.8, 3.10.1, 3.16.16) the later scholar probably derived the conjecture from Pontano; Muretus and Heinsius owned, and Lipsius consulted when it was in Muretus' possession, a 1515 Aldine (now Berlin Staatsbibliothek Bibl Diez 8° 2474) containing the collations of Antonio Petreio, whose sources include the Puccius collation and Pontano's copy.[8]

NOTES

1 Poppi Bibl com 54 has the following subscription after Tibullus (f 35v; the end of the Propertius has been lost): 'Finis die Sabbati hora 3ª die decima aprilis 1472 Senis in domo Ludouici Doti. ego Gaspar. et audiui a .... poeta. die 21 aprilis 1472 finis.' The name erased before 'poeta' seems to have been 'Maximo Pacifico.' Maximus copied manuscripts in Siena in 1469 and 1475 and perhaps made a prolonged stay there. Conceivably it should be deduced from 'audiui' and from the second date that Gaspar corrected his text during or after lectures given by Maximus. If the early stage of correction in Poppi 54, which apparently derives from the de Spira edition of 1472, is connected with Maximus' lectures, this would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the edition, which indicates year but not month or day.

2 Barb lat 23 and the related Berlin Diez B Sant 41, which shares some of its conjectures, are also discussed in chapter 4, pp 107-8.

3 Manius knew not only the conjecture but the arguments advanced for it: '*transiliam* bene legitur licet alii legerint stasiliam alii strofiliam alii stafiliam. qui stafiliam legerunt magis in errore sunt quoniam nullus est stafilus Nictei pater ... Qui uero stafiliam a stafino sitheni filio qui <a> Deianira, cum pugna esset inter acheloum et herculem, custodiretur nullum sequitur auctorem, quod et Dionysius et ouidius bene indicant. rectius trasiliam legissent, qui dicitur custodisse antiopam asopi filiam, cum qua in

ignem mutatus iupiter concubuit.' 'Stafiliamque' is also read by Vat lat 3274, Barb lat 23, and Berlin Diez B Sant 41, of which the former two at least are also Roman; 'trasiliamque' (ie 'Thrasyliamque') is read by Harley 5246, to be discussed below, and Paris BN lat 8458, another late Roman copy.

4 Maturantius has 'summa maternis' (*sic*) in the text with the note, 'Haec summa aeternis habent alii codices, sed falso: nam li. 3° sic ait Non hic Andromedae resonant pro matre catenae' (3.22.29). The hand that wrote 'sua maternis' in the margin of Paris 8233, to which modern editors attribute the conjecture, is apparently of the sixteenth century.

5 'Susa' is also read by late correcting hands in Naples IV.F.22, Harley 2550, and Florence Bibl Naz Baldovinetti 213; Beroaldus' edition is probably the source in every case (Naples IV.F.22 once had a note in the margin of which only 'ut mo ... / picus mirandu ... / antiquo codice' can now be read).

6 For the inventory see G. Bertoni *La biblioteca Estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I (1471-1505)* (Turin 1903). The d'Este inventory of 1436 contains no Propertius; cf *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 14 (1889) 12-30.

7 According to Hanslik's apparatus 'non ita' is also given by correcting hands in Ambros D 267 inf, Leiden Voss lat O.13, and the Lusaticus; my own collations (confirmed from microfilm in the case of the Lusaticus) indicate that all read 'nauita' (all three, however, omitted lines 37-8 before correction). It is, however, the reading of a late correcting hand in Harley 2550; Broekhuyzen reports it as read by the Borrichianus (appendix 2, note 1).

8 For the Petreius collation and its sources cf my 'Pontanus, Puccius, Pochus, Petreius, and Propertius' *Res Publica Litterarum* 3 (1980) 5-9.

9

The Incunabula and Their Descendants

The *editio princeps* of Propertius appeared in Venice in 1472, but it is impossible to state with absolute certainty which of the two editions printed in that city in that year is the first. The balance of probability, however, favours the one dated February 1472 in the colophon and printed anonymously (Hain Suppl 4888; *BMC* VIII 1134, where it is attributed to the printer Federicus de Comitibus); it contains only Propertius. Its affiliation with Z and the delta manuscripts has already been noted (chapter 5). Its most distinctive feature is a series of omissions and displacements: 1.17.22 and 23 reversed, 2.25.38-9 omitted, 3.13.63-6 printed twice (at the bottom of a verso and again at the top of the following recto side), 4.4.83-4 omitted, and, through a printer's error that has reversed the contents of recto and verso, 4.5 in the order 1, 30-57, 2-29, 58-78. Only one manuscript seems to be copied entirely from the edition, Naples Bibl della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria XXIV.B.6; a subscription on f 89v records that the scribe, Iohannes de Trochulo, copied it in March 1474 on the island of Rhodes while serving King Ferrante of Naples in some capacity.[1] Even here, however, some of the more egregious flaws of the edition have been corrected, such as the disorder in 1.17 and the repetition of 3.13.63-6. A second manuscript, Berlin Diez B Sant 52 (copied in Ferrara in 1473 by the notary Petrus Paulus de Delaitis), certainly derives from the *editio princeps* in Book 4, and was influenced by it in earlier books; all the titles come from the edition, such as 1.9 'Ad Aemulum irriosorem id est ponticum.' Naples XXIV.B.6 reproduces even such obvious errors of the edition as 3.22.41 'tiai.' The following examples illustrate the agreement of these manuscripts and the edition in the later part of Book 4:

4.7.2 umbra) umbara
28 atram) atra
29 at *om*
9.45 saetaeque) septaeque
54 agedum) agendum
67 quae) in
11.33 mox ubi iam facibus cessit) mo. ce. ub. ia. fa.
94 caelibis) cetibis

Both manuscripts also reproduce the disordered version of 4.5. A third manuscript was copied from the *editio princeps* only as far as 1.18 or 1.19; this is London British Library Add 10387, copied in Verona in 1474 by Pierfilippo Muronovo. It agrees with such nonsensical errors as 1.11.3 'tesponti,' and gives further proof of its origin when it attempts to heal by conjecture the corruptions of its exemplar, as at 1.12.5, where it gives 'amplexa enutrit' for the unmetrical 'amplexa nutrit' of the edition. Paris BN lat 8236 (a late copy of uncertain origin) is related to the edition; for instance, it reads with the edition 'extremum' in 4.9.70 and follows its pattern of similarity to Z with none of its distinctive errors.

The other Venetian edition of 1472 (no indication of month, but see chapter 8, note 2) came from the press of Vindelino de Spira (Hain *4758; *BMC* V 161-2). This is the first edition to combine Propertius with Tibullus and Catullus (with the further addition of Statius' *Siluae*); some confusion has arisen from the fact that this is the *editio princeps* of the latter two but not necessarily of the former. Its text is a commonplace conflation of readings of F and g (chapter 7). De Spira's is the source of all the other fifteenth-century editions of Propertius except the *princeps*. This can be demonstrated through errors of de Spira (derived from various sources) that persist in all of them, including the following:

2.1.65 poterit) potuit
12.24 canat) canit
34.11 posses) posset et
3.2.3 detinuisse) te tenuisse
22.9 Geryonis) geryonae
4.1.107 uerusque) uersusque
9.21 torquet) torret
10.26 laxa) lapsa

One could readily extend the list by incorporating errors corrected in one of the more critical editions. For example, all except Volscus 1482 agree in *inter alia*,

2.1.3 haec [calliope]) mihi
21 nec) non

12.17 est *om*
30.3 uecteris) uerteris

All except Beroaldus 1487 agree in the following:

2.1.11 somnum) somnus
47 laus alter si datur uno) l. si da. al uiuo
51 sunt) sint
12.1 puerum) primus
13.49 humari) humati
4.11.35 sic) cum

There are two lines of descent from de Spira 1472. The first begins with the 1475 edition of Philippus de Lavagnia, probably printed in Milan, not in Venice as often stated (Hain 4759; *BMC* VI 702-4 [for the controversy concerning printer and city cf *BMC* V xv-xvi and VI xxi-xxii]; *GW* 6387). It was perhaps prepared under the supervision of Bonus Accursius, who from 9 March 1475 was press reader for all works of poetry and rhetoric printed by de Lavagnia. It repeats the contents of de Spira 1472 except that for the adaptation of the life of Propertius by Sicco Polentonus found in de Spira Sicco's original version has been substituted (wrongly attributed by authorities on incunabula to Girolamo Squarzafico). A corrected reprint of Milan 1475 appeared in Reggio (Emilia) in 1481 from the press of Prosper Odoardus and Albertus Mazalis (Hain *4757; *BMC* VII 1087). This edition became for a time the object of a superstitious reverence among editors of Propertius because a copy of it was used by Franciscus Puccius in 1502 for his collation of the *uetustus codex* of Berardino Valla. Lachmann, following his pupil Jacob in his (unfortunately) influential second edition of 1829, cited not only the annotations of Puccius but even the uncorrected readings of the edition as witnesses to the text; Paldam (1827) had already printed a diplomatically exact transcription (even to reproducing the shape of the marks of punctuation) of Sicco's life of Propertius contained in it (repeated from Milan 1475). Reggio 1481 in turn was the source of two other editions. The first was printed in Brescia in 1486 by Boninus de Boninis (Hain 4761; *BMC* VII 970), a great improvement in its text but not entirely critical. A curious feature is that Propertius and the *Elucubrationes* of Domizio Calderini are printed in parallel columns: since Calderini's notes concern only a fraction of the text, the result is a great many half-empty pages. Antonius Volscus (whose first edition, from 1482, will be discussed below) used a copy of Reggio 1481 to prepare his second edition, printed in Venice in 1488 (Hain *4762; *BMC* V 354-5).

All the editions in this first family repeat errors of de Spira that have been corrected in the second, among them:

1.1.22 meo) modo
31 annuit) annuet
12.9 an quae) atque
11 qui) quae
20.23 inuicti) inuitis
2.3.33 hac ... mirer) ah ... miser
9.40 meus) meis
19.13 feres) fides
24.25 pugnet) purget
29.27 narratum) narrabant
3.3.33 rura) turba
13.66 est *om*
4.6.52 iusta) iuste
7.5 exequiis) exquiliis

Milan 1475 introduced errors of its own, whose persistence in the later editions of the first family guarantees their coherence as a group. Since two of these editions (Brescia 1486 and Volscus 1488) are reasonably critical, specious interpolations introduced by Milan 1475 had a higher rate of survival than unmetrical or nonsensical errors; one may draw up a brief list incorporating examples of both:

1.17.15 leuius) melius
2.1.5 cois ... cogis O) caeis ... togis
9.45 ponet) pone
10.1-2 *cum elegia 2.9 coniuncti*
12.24 soleant) soleam
29.9 locauit) reliquit
3.11.20 tam) tanta
4.1.150 cancri) contra

Two passages in which the editions of 1486 and 1488 repeat clearly unsatisfactory interpolations of Reggio 1481 prove that they depend upon that edition rather than upon Milan 1475. At 2.29.34 Milan 1475 omits the second 'uel'; Reggio 1481 repairs the metre but not the sense by reading 'quisquam' for 'quis.' For 'Gallica' at 3.13.54 Milan 1475 reads 'callica'; Reggio 1481 gives Brennus' followers arms that are 'callida.' Both 'emendations,' which would hardly have occurred to three editors independently, recur in the two later editions. Certain errors of Reggio 1481 that were corrected in Brescia 1486 but persist in Volscus 1488 show that the last named derives from the first and not from the second:

2.3.5 posset) possis
3.3.31 turba) turbe
11.35 pompeio) pompeia
4.7.62 mitratisque) muratisque
9.67 ara) aera
11.90 uertet) portet

The last member of this family is the first Propertius printed north of the Alps, the 1495 Leipzig edition of Martin Landsberg (Hain 13403; *BMC* II 638); it is an unacknowledged reprint of Volscus 1488. The Leipzig edition of 1497 (Hain 13404), which I have not seen, is perhaps a reprint of Landsberg's.

The second family is perhaps a better reflection on the work of fifteenth-century editors. Its earliest representative was printed in Vicenza in 1481 by Johannes Calphurnius of Brescia (Hain *4760; *BMC* VII 1040; *GW* 6389); this repeats the contents of de Spira without biographies. Calphurnius' preface reveals that he consciously undertook the work as a revision of the corrupt de Spira edition.[2] Thus Vicenza 1481 is not a simple reprint of de Spira but does rely upon it as a base text; this is shown by the presence of errors, some purely typographical, of de Spira that were corrected in Milan 1475:

1.2.1 uita) uitta
22.8 solo) salo
2.34.55 est *om*
3.3.31 turba) tuba
5.1 est *om*
4.8.68 sinistra) sinista
11.91 seu) nec

Calphurnius did not limit himself to a single source but introduced errors and interpolations from the *editio princeps*, such as the following:

1.20.10 uago) uagi
21.4 proxima) maxima
2.3.14 oculi) oculis
13.47 minuisset) meminisset
29.28 neu) non
30.12 esse) ille
31.3 speciem) specie
33.42 uos) nos
3.2.4 sustinuisse) detinuisse
11.48 nomine) omine (Homine *ed prin*)
22.32 mouente) parante
4.1.38 putet) putat

81 nunc) in
2.2 paterna) petenda
6.75 positis) potis
8.21 spectandum) spectaculum
38 Graeca) grata
11.30 aera) uera

Not content with conflating two editions, Calphurnius was also the first editor to incorporate some of the emendations proposed in Calderini's *Elucubrationes*:

1.20.33 Arganthi Pege) Argantonini
2.2.11 satis O) Sais
3.13.10 Icariote *uel* Icariore O) Icarioti
22.15 et si qua orige O) si quaue Gygei
4.1.118 quam (quem *de Spira*)
142 ausa O) ansa

Two editions derive from Vicenza 1481, Volscus' first edition,[3] printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber in 1482 (Hain *13402; *BMC* IV 104), and the 1487 Bologna edition, with commentary, of Philippus Beroaldus, by unanimous consent the first edition to make a significant advance in the explication and emendation of the text (Hain 13406; *BMC* VI 822; reprinted several times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries).[4] Inevitably critical editions such as these offer less opportunity for the detection of significant shared errors, but the practice of sending corrected copies of other editions to the press has left enough evidence to establish their affiliation. At least two obviously incorrect readings interpolated into Vicenza 1481 from the *editio princeps* reappear in Volscus' and Beroaldus' editions and establish their affinity: 'spectaculum' in 4.8.21 does not scan, 'oculis' in 2.3.14 is senseless, and neither is likely to have been introduced independently by three editors, one of the calibre of Beroaldus. Beroaldus prepared his edition directly from Vicenza 1481 and not from Volscus 1482; this is shown by the presence of errors of the former corrected in the latter, such as 1.20.26 'zetis,' 2.13.15 'quae,' and 2.33.42 'nos.' In addition, at 2.29.23, where Vicenza 1481 omitted 'si' and Volscus 1481 restored it from another source, Beroaldus reads 'ne'; were this a conscious emendation of a corrupt passage rather than an *ad hoc* correction of a line defective in his exemplar, we would expect it to have been included in the list of emendations that he prefixed to his text. Latest of all is the edition printed in Paris in 1499 by Michel Tholoze (Hain 13405), a reprint of Beroaldus' text.

Most of these editions on at least one occasion attracted the attention of the professional scribes whose careers they were helping to end. De Spira 1472 was copied three times. British Library Add 10387 derives from it after deserting the *editio princeps*; it reproduces errors corrected in all or most of the editions derived from de Spira:

1.22.8	solo) salo
2.26.52	domat) donat
3.11.34	malo) melo
13.18	uxorum) uxorem
4.6.35	qualis) quali
11.77	adice) abice

Another copy is Florence Bibl Laur pl.33,11, written in Florence for Francesco Sassetti by Bartolomeo Fonzio. Because it was copied by a scholar, it offers a better text, but the relationship of edition and manuscript can be deduced from two passages where Fonzio the scholar is detected at work. At 4. 11.29 de Spira gives the unmetrical 'decori trophea'; Fonzio altered as he copied to 'decora trophea,' an unacceptable expedient adopted also by Calphurnius in Vicenza 1481. More significant is the case of 4.1.103, where the edition reversed the order of words to produce 'iouis libyae,' which again will not scan. The manuscript correctly reads 'libyae iouis,' but the first word is written *in rasura* over another that began with an *i*: Fonzio apparently began to copy the version of the edition, perceived the difficulty and its solution, and corrected accordingly. A third partial copy of de Spira is Bibl Vat Vat lat 3274, written by Parthenius Minutius Paulinus, a follower of Pomponio Leto.[5] The part copied from the edition probably begins with 2.10, where its errors first appear (eg 2.10.9 'succedere'), but correction is heavy as far as the middle of Book 3. From 3.11 onward the manuscript derives unambiguously from the edition, down to such errors as 3.11.34 'melo,' 3.13.18 'uxorem,' and 4.8.3 'Lanuini.' Naples Bibl Oratoriana dei Gerolamini M.C.F. 3-15, copied in Florence in 1484 by Antonio Sinibaldi, does not derive its text of Propertius, at least, from any early edition, although one might have expected it from the late date and from the contents (this is the only manuscript to combine Propertius, Tibullus, and Catullus with Statius' *Siluae*), but the titles to the elegies do come from de Spira ('Sequitur' is used when a division made in the manuscript was not made in the edition).

Milan 1475 has left four descendants. Paris BN lat 7990 is a slightly corrected copy[6] but repeats most of the distinctive errors, such as 2.2.7 'palias' and 4.11.29 'decora rophei.'

Paris BN lat 8235 is a copy of Milan 1475 only to the end of 3.15, where the hand changes.[7] Again there has been correction, but enough distinctive errors remain for the source to be identified:

1.22.8 miseri) misceri
2.9.17 uiris O) castes
29.34 uel (si) *om*
33.14 superba) superbia
3.13.54 Gallica) callica

Leiden I Lips F.43 has been copied from Milan 1475 only as far as 2.13 or 2.14 (at 2.15 appears the first title different from the edition); it repeats many of the same errors as the previous two manuscripts (1.22.8 'misceri,' 2.2.7 'palias,' 2.9.17 'castes,' as well as 2.10.14 'delet' for 'dolet'). Siena Bibl Com degl'Intronati I.IX.6, a copy of Books 1 and 2 containing a commentary of Titus Sutrinus on those books dated 1480 and 1481, apparently derives from Milan 1475; many of the passages in which unique errors of the edition appear have been corrected *in rasura*, thus obscuring the original reading, but note 'misceri' 1.22.8.

Only one partial descendant of Reggio 1481 can be identified, Paris BN lat 8459 (1.1.1-3.15.46 only), copied by some member of the Roman Academy. Its text as far as 2.33 has been discussed above, pp 104 and 151-3; such errors as 3.13.54 'callida' establish its subsequent affinity with this edition.

One manuscript, Escorial s.iii.22, may derive from Vicenza 1481. This contains an original adaptation of Sicco's biography of Propertius and two brief poems signed by one 'Aemilius,' but the scribe may be Pietro Summonte, who edited many of Pontano's works for the Aldine press.[8] Whoever the copyist, he was a scholar and corrected while he copied. One typographical error escaped him initially, 3.11.71 'sue' for 'seu.'

Brescia 1486 likewise seems to have been copied only once; its descendant is Wolfenbüttel 65.2 Aug 8°. The uncomprehending scribe reproduces the most exotic errors in profusion:

1.11.3 Thesproti) tespreti
2.3.17 Iaccho) iocho
20.6 obstrepit) obstredit
24.13 poscere) boscere

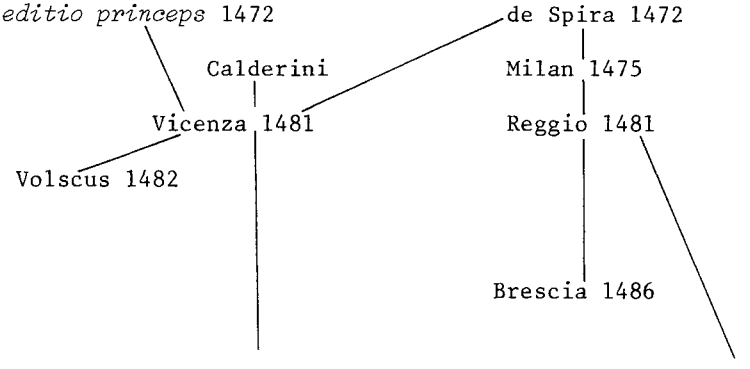
British Library Burney 242 is a copy of the 1493 reprint of Beroaldus' text, as is shown by the agreement in text, by the inclusion of the poems of Beroaldus and Hieronymus Salius appended to the printed text, and by the corruption 'Hietoymi' for Salius' Christian name, which only this edition

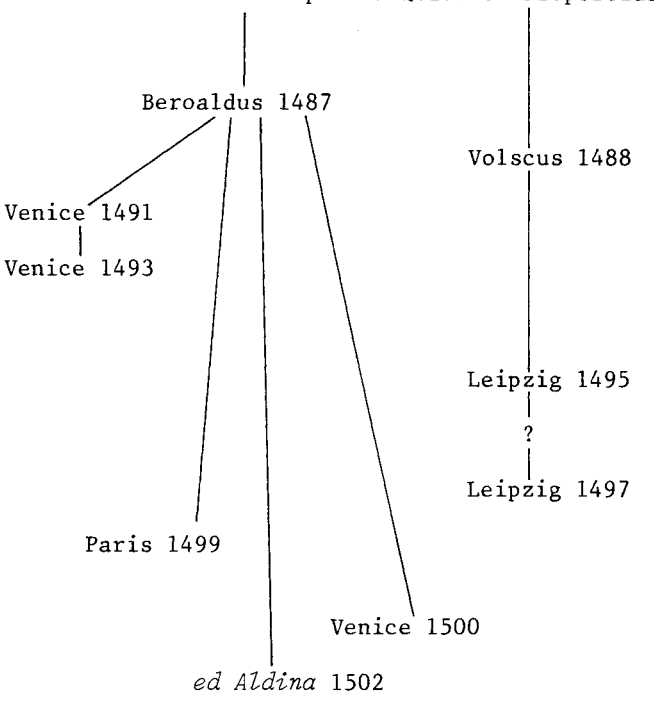
gives as 'Hieroymi.' The text of 4.6-4.11 in Paris BN lat 8235 is also copied from Beroaldus' edition and includes the poem of Beroaldus.

Oxford Bodleian Library Canon Class lat 31, although heavily corrected, derives from some printed edition. The base text seems to have been a descendant of Milan 1475 (note 4.7.5 'exquiliis,' 4.11.90 'portet'), perhaps Volscus 1488; manuscript and edition share, for instance, 'polydamantas' in 3.1.29, and at 4.8.3 the manuscript reads 'Lanuinum' and the edition 'Lannuinum,' where no other edition has a similar corruption.[9]

The first Aldine edition of 1502 lies outside the strict limits of a discussion of the incunabula but merits inclusion here as the link between the incunabula (and the manuscript tradition) and the editions of the following three and a half centuries. We have seen that de Spira 1472 was printed from a manuscript that represented a branch of the tradition very common in north-east Italy, and that this edition, through Vincenza 1481, was the ultimate source of Beroaldus' of 1487. The last, while still grounded in the textual tradition of its sources, offered the best text printed in the fifteenth century; it served in its turn as the source of the 1502 Aldine. Later publishers borrowed more from the Manutii than their type faces, and it was perhaps through the prestige of the Aldine press that this strain became established as the *textus receptus*; even Scaliger's idiosyncratic text is a variation of the same strain. Though emendation gradually removed most of the egregious errors inherited from F and g through de Spira, a core of such readings as Salutati's worthless conjecture 'pompa fuit' at 3.13.27 (necessitated by an omission in F) continued to appear regularly as recently as the middle of the nineteenth century.

The following *stemma* illustrates the affiliation of the editions as far as 1502:





NOTES

1 He further specifies that it was written 'tempore quo Veneti usurparunt regnum cipri: quod gaudium deus eis in futurum non seruet.' Since the sole identifiable watermark is also Venetian (Briquet 14766; Venice 1477), perhaps both exemplar and paper were among the spoils of war.

2 According to *BMC* VII 1040, Calphurnius' phrase 'id opus quod Venetiis impressum est' is 'no doubt' a reference to Milan 1475, often thought to have been printed in Venice; for Propertius at least this cannot be so, since Vicenza 1481 repeats errors of de Spira corrected in Milan 1475.

3 One of the anonymous readers of this study observed that Avantius' second edition of Ausonius follows not his own first but that of Ugoletus. There is a surprising modern parallel in Lachmann's two editions of Propertius (1816 and 1829), of which the second is not only not directly related to the first but is by Lachmann's admission a slightly reworked version of his pupil Jacob's recension.

4 The earliest appeared in Venice in 1491 from the press of Bonetus Locatellus (Hain *4763; *BMC* V 439). Simone Bevilacqua's edition of 1493, also printed in Venice, is probably

a reprint of Locatellus'; both include a short religious poem (inc: Sit Christe Rex piissime) after the text (Hain 4764; *BMC* V 517f). The last of the incunabula, printed in Venice in 1500 by Zuan Tacuino, includes Beroaldus' text and commentary apparently drawn from the original edition (Hain *4766, *BMC* V 535). The puzzling Hain 13407, which would appear to be a Propertius printed in Bologna in 1490 by Plato de Benedictis, may be a reprint of Hain 2943*, a collection of Beroaldus' notes on various authors issued in 1488 (described in *BMC* VI 823).

5 This manuscript is also discussed as a scholar's copy in chapter 8.

6 Its text of Catullus, however, does not seem to be related to the edition (Thomson 55 n 79).

7 The OCT apparatus at 3.11.17 attributes 'Omphalie' to this manuscript, which has taken it from the edition.

8 The evidence for this is Vat lat 2843, a copy of Pontano's *Dialogues* attributed to Summonte and written by the same hand as this manuscript (Pontano *Dialoghi* ed C. Previtera [Florence 1943] tav I-III). The two poems of 'Aemilius' are not necessarily a barrier to the identification. A Roman manuscript of Statius (Rome Bibl Angel 1721), not, it seems, in the same hand as Escorial s.iii.22, contains two epigrams by an 'Aemilius,' whom it is tempting to identify with the Paulus Aemilius Buccabella of the Roman Academy; cf M.D. Reeve, Statius' *Silvae* in the Fifteenth Century' *CQ* ns 27 (1977) 209-10. The hand of Escorial s.iii.22 shows none of the traits associated with Leto and his comrades. Perhaps Summonte copied a manuscript written by Buccabella; perhaps he took the poems from a non-Propertian codex that contained them; perhaps he knew Buccabella personally. Vat lat 3272 contains an epigram of Buccabella on Tibullus (f 90v); it was written in Rome and is not likely ever to have left there. The only other copy of the poem known to me, however, is on f 87v of Wolfenbüttel 65.2 Aug 8°, a securely Neapolitan manuscript written 1486 or after.

9 The account of the early editions in Fischer 48-53 is broadly similar to the one given here, except that Vicenza 1481, Volscus 1482, and Volscus 1488 are said to be independent of the other editions and the influence of de Spira 1472 on Reggio 1481 is described as indirect (Fischer also refers to 'die Calderinusausgabe von 1486,' presumably Brescia 1486, which prints Calderini's notes but is in no sense a 'Calderini edition'). His discussions of some manuscripts copied from the incunabula also agrees broadly with the present treatment, but he affiliates Paris 7990 with Reggio 1481 rather than with Milan 1475 and makes Barb lat 34 a descendant of de Spira 1472 rather than its possible source.

CONCLUSION

Sample Texts

I hope that this study has succeeded, at least to some extent, in illuminating the Propertian tradition. It cannot, of course, answer the final question, to what extent the text of the archetype should be accepted as the poet's *ipsissima uerba*, but it has perhaps suggested an answer by showing that scholars now accept as genuine some errors and interpolations of one part of the tradition. The more concrete results include greater accuracy in the attribution of early conjectures, a more rational *apparatus criticus*, and, most important, increased certainty in reconstructing the archetype. These results will be illustrated with sample texts of 1.20, 2.8, 3.6, and 4.11, chosen as representing four divisions of the text according to the surviving witnesses: in 1.20 A survives and FP can be ignored, in 2.8 A must be reconstructed from FP(bn), in 3.6 A is reconstructed from FLPZ, and in 4.11 N is lost for 17-76.

Concerning the stages before the archetype little can be said with certainty, except that the archetype and its exemplar were probably in Carolingian minuscule (see below on 1.20.6). Arguably more important to the editor is the demonstrable presence of glosses, variants, and corrections in the archetype and earlier stages. For instance, at 3.1.29 all manuscripts give some variation of 'Puliledamantes' for a form of the name Pulydamas (Lachmann's 'Polydamanta' is widely accepted). The natural explanation is that at some stage 'pulidamantes' was corrupted to 'pule-' then corrected with a suprascript *li* which was mistakenly incorporated into the word.

It was argued in chapter 3 that glosses survived in the archetype at 2.3.22, 2.30.16, and 3.13.9. The same chapter offered evidence that the archetype was corrected from its exemplar (for instance at 1.18.16, 3.5.35, and 4.2.34) and that an interpolation has sometimes replaced a corruption of the archetype in most of the tradition (as at 2.28.53, 3.8.13,

and 4.8.69). The manuscripts now used often falsify our view of the archetype in such passages; N tended to ignore corrections or variants, A to incorporate them incorrectly. Medieval interpolations presuppose an intelligent and curious medieval readership of a sort that, by the evidence previously available, might have been consigned to the realm of fantasy, but it was argued in chapter 1 that, at least around Orléans and Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such a readership did exist; while some of the glosses must be early ('uel lyrices cuiusuis' at 2.3.22), others could have been added to the archetype as late as the twelfth or thirteenth century, since no copy can be shown to be older. All of these observations, especially the presence of glosses, are relevant to the textual criticism of a poet whom the ancients found *blandus* and *facundus* but who regularly seems sloppy or flat in modern editions. The editor's task should be to remove the layers of superficial corruption (in sheer bulk the most significant) and isolate the cruces.

There are three medieval strands of tradition; these probably represent two rather than three lines of descent from the archetype.

One begins with the Leiden fragment A, copied about 1230-50. Since it now ends at 2.1.63, the rest of its somewhat corrupt text must be reconstructed from descendants. The only possible direct descendant is a florilegium contained in Paris BN lat 16708; the others derive from a lost copy made for (and perhaps by) Petrarch. No descendant of this copy is free from correction. F is carelessly copied but contains conjectures that can plausibly be attributed to Petrarch himself. P is faithful enough to its exemplar to be useful in reconstructing Petrarch's copy but has been extensively corrected through conjectures of the scribe. L is the least corrupted and least corrected descendant; it now begins at 2.21.3, but its readings to that point can be reconstructed from three manuscripts that derive from a conflation of L with Vat lat 3273 (b, n, and the *antiquum manuscriptum* e). Z derives from Petrarch's copy directly and incorporates some of his conjectures from 2.29 to the end (it lacks through damage 3.19.2-12 and 3.20.1-21.33). Where four witnesses are available (2.29 *ad fin*) the individual errors of each can be eliminated with ease; the agreement of two against two (usually FZ against LP) leaves a reasonable doubt. The texts of FLPZ have not been contaminated from other copies. For the most part corrections in all can be ignored except where they are the earliest authority for a conjecture. F4 derives from an identifiable recension, F3 consists of Salutati's conjectures; F2, however, cannot be ignored, because Lombardo corrected from the exemplar.

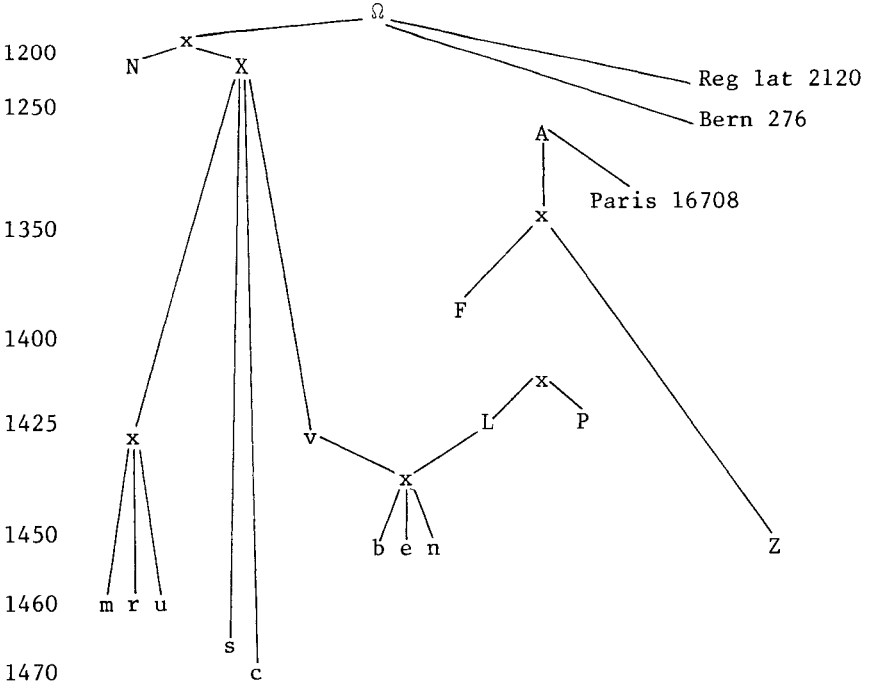
Only one nearly complete medieval copy has survived, the codex Neapolitanus of about 1200. This the most useful single

surviving witness, for it combines the highest number of correct readings with the lowest of scribal corruptions. The probable presence of both verbal and metrical interpolation should not be ignored; N is not a *codex optimus* and does not give the whole truth about the tradition.

It was argued in chapter 3 that there once existed a third medieval copy, here called X, which Poggio perhaps acquired around Paris during his journey to England in 1418. A date in the twelfth or thirteenth century is suggested by the combined evidence of Poliziano's description of it as *uetustus* and certain letter forms which can be deduced from its descendants. N and X appear to share a common hyparchetype. X must be reconstructed from six descendants. The earliest is v, written in 1427; mru derive from a single copy perhaps belonging to Niccoli; s was written in Florence, perhaps by Poggio's son. The last descendant, c, was written in Rome about 1470 by Pomponio Leto.

The extracts preserved in Bibl Vat Reg lat 2120 (formerly part of Paris BN lat 15155), of the thirteenth century, may derive from X or from the archetype but offer nothing of independent value for establishing the text.

The probable relationship of these witnesses may be illustrated in the following *stemma codicum*:



Any attempt to trace the history of the text before the twelfth century is a highly speculative enterprise. It appears that the archetype was in the vicinity of Orléans or Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The scant early Italian tradition (FLP) derives from a copy of A that Petrarch brought from France. Salutati had a copy made about 1380 (F), while from another, now lost, derive L (Genoa, 1421) and P (Florence, 1423); Petrarch's copy apparently remained in Padua, to be copied again in 1453 (Z). Poggio says nothing about the origin of the copy that he sent to Niccoli in 1427 (X). One copy of this (v) was certainly made in Florence in that year; the source of mru may have been copied then as well. F and v between them account for the overwhelming majority of fifteenth century manuscripts. One copy of v (perhaps in the possession of Aurispa) was taken to Ferrara about 1430 and began to produce large numbers of descendants. One descendant of this copy (perhaps in the possession of Pontano) was taken to Naples in the 1440s and accounts for most of the early Roman and Neapolitan copies. Another descendant of the same source spawned a handful of smaller families around Ferrara in the 1450s and 1460s. Another offshoot of v, conflated with L, produced a small group of northern manuscripts useful in reconstructing L and a group of Roman copies of the 1460s and later. As copies became more plentiful, contamination increased, and after about 1460 one finds that a majority of copies simply combine the strains of F (available in northern Italy at least since 1451) and g or its source M. Some scholars still sought out old copies; Poggio's was copied again in Florence about 1465 and again in Rome about 1470, then was collated in Naples in 1502 by Franciscus Puccius before disappearing from sight.

The symbol stigma is omnipresent in current editions of Propertius; to replace it the following symbols are proposed to designate families of manuscripts:

γ = Parma 140, Wrocław AKC 1948 KN 197, Capp 196 (Ambros H 34 sup)
κ = Genoa E.III.29, Magl VII 1053, Cambridge Add 3394
λ = Cambridge Add 3394, Laur pl.38,37, Leiden O.81
δ = Tomacellianus, Berlin 500, Berlin 41, Pal lat 1652
θ = Parma 716, Pesaro 1167, Vienna 3153
μ = Göttingen philol 111^{b}
ε = Brescia A.VII.7, Harley 2574, Leiden O.13
η = Vicenza G.2.8.12, Bern 517, Genoa F.VI.15
ν = Venice 4208 and 4384, Ottob lat 2003, San Daniele 56
π = Naples IV.F.22, Barb lat 58, Vat lat 1612
M = the agreement of μεηνπ
ρ = Leningrad Cl.lat.Q.12, Salamanca 245, Naples IV.F.19, Leiden O.82

σ = Ravenna 277, Ottob lat 1370 and 1550, Egerton 3027
τ = Berlin Diez B Sant 57

I have used the symbols used by Mynors and Thomson for groups of Catullus manuscripts when there is some coincidence of membership; if any similar survey of Tibullus manuscripts conforms to the same principle (provided that the Greek alphabet has enough letters), that will facilitate study of the joint transmission of all three in the Renaissance. I am testing these groups in an edition with commentary of Book 3 now under way; a complete text will follow in time. A conjecture confined to a single manuscript whose copyist is known can be attributed to the copyist if he shows enough understanding to have been the author of the conjecture.

SIGLA

N = Guelferbytanus Gudianus 224, ca 1200 scriptus (desunt 4.11.17-76)
A = Leidensis Vossianus Lat in Oct 38, ca 1230-50 scriptus (desinit in 2.1.63)
F = Laurentianus pl.36,49, ca 1380 scriptus (2.1.64 ad fin adhibetur)
L = Bodleianus Holkham Misc 36, anno 1421 scriptus (incipit in 2.21.3, usque ad fin adhibetur; lectiones 2.1.64-2.21.2 colliguntur e codd
b = Bruxellensi 14638, ca 1450 scripto, et
n = Neapolitano IV.F.19, ca 1460 scripto)
P = Parisinus Lat 7989, anno 1423 scriptus (2.1.64 ad fin adhibetur)
Z = Venetus Marcianus 1912 (Fondo antico 443), anno 1453 scriptus (2.29.1 ad fin adhibetur; desunt 3.19.2-12, 3.20.1-3.21.33)
α = consensus codicum FLPZ trium uel omnium (2.21.3 ad fin)
X = ccdex Poggii uetustus, nunc deperditus, cuius lectiones ex his, qui sequuntur, codicibus colliguntur:
v = Vaticanus Latinus 3273, anno 1427 ab Antonio Beccadellio exaratus
m = Parisinus Lat 8233, anno 1465 scriptus
r = Bodmerianus Lat 141, anno 1466 scriptus
u = Vaticanus Urbinas 641, ca 1465-70 scriptus
s = Monacensis (Bibliothecae Uniuersitatis) Cim 22, ca 1460-70 scriptus
c = Casanatensis 15, anno 1470 uel 1471 a Pomponio Laeto exscriptus

O = consensus codicum
NXA (1.1.1-2.1.63)
NXFP(bn) (2.1.64-2.21.2)
NXFLP (2.21.3-2.28.62)
NXFLPZ (2.29.1 ad fin)

Flor 1 = florilegium Vat Reg lat 2120 (olim Paris lat 15155), s xiii
Flor 2 = florilegium Paris lat 16708, s xiv

SAMPLE TEXTS OF PROPERTIUS

1.20

Haec pro continuo te, Galle, monemus amore
  Illud [tibi] ne uacuo defluat ex animo:
Saepe imprudenti fortuna occurrit amanti
  Crudelis, Minuis †dixerat† Ascanius.
Est tibi non infra specie, non nomine dispar
  Theiodamanteo proximus ardor Hylae:
Huic tu, siue leges †umbrosae† flumina siluae,
  Siue Aniena tuos tinxerit unda pedes,
Siue Gigantei spatiabere litoris ora
  Siue ubicumque uago fluminis hospitio,
Nympharum semper cupidas defende rapinas
  (Non minor Ausoniis est amor Adryasin),
Ne tibi sit duros montes et frigida saxa,
  Galle, neque expertos semper adire lacus,
Quae miser ignotis error perpessus in oris
  Herculis indomito fleuerat Ascanio.
Namque ferunt olim Pagasae naualibus Argo
  Egressam longe Phasidos isse uiam,
Et iam praeteritis labentem Athamantidos undis
  Mysorum scopulis applicuisse ratem:
Hic manus heroum, placitis ut constitit oris,
  Mollia composita litora fronde tegit,
At comes Inuicti iuuenis processerat ultra
  Raram sepositi quaerere fontis aquam.
Hunc duo sectati fratres, Aquilonia proles

1.20 N vmrusc A 1 h(a)ec $F^{pc}P_n$: nec A: hoc N X 2 illud *scripsi*: id tibi O 3 fortunam occurrere *Heinsius* currit A 4 dixerat A v^{t}mrusc: dixerit N v^{vl}: sic erat *Baehrens*: hic erat *Postgate*: trux erat *Housman*: durus ut *temptaui* 5 infra) impar *Baehrens* specie θ, *Heinsius*: speciem O 6 Theio- *Butler*: Thio-δ: therodamanteo N X: thedoramanteo A 7 hunc O, *corr Auratus* sine mru Thesprotae *Heinsius*: Umbrae sacra *Hoeufft* Silae *Scaliger* 8 amena A 9 Gigantei *Canalis, Maturantius, alii*: gigantea O 11 cupidas semper M 12 Adryasin *Struve*: adriacis O 13 Nec ε sit duros *Fontanus*: sint duri (sit durum v^{vl}mru) O turbida A 17 Argo *Volscus 1482*: Argon O 18 egressum λ, *Heinsius* longo N^{ac} ipse mru: esse c 21 placitis *cod Helm 338, Heinsius*: placidis O 22 regit A 24 sacram *Rutgers* frontis N 25 septati mu proles A. fratres *Maximus*

(Nunc superat Zetes, nunc superat Calais),
Oscula suspensis instabant carpere plantis,
Oscula et alterna ferre supina fuga,
Ille sed extrema pendentes ludit in ala
Et uolucres ramo submouet insidias.
Iam Pandioniae cessit genus Orithyiae:
A dolor, ibat Hylas, ibat Hamadryasin.
Hic erat Arganthi Pege sub uertice montis
Grata domus nymphis umida Thyniasin,
Quam supra nullae pendebant debita curae
Roscida desertis poma sub arboribus,
Et circum irriguo surgebant lilia prato
Candida purpureis mixta papaueribus.
Quae modo decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui
Proposito florem praetulit officio,
Et modo formosis incumbens nescius undis
Errorem blandis tardat imaginibus:
Tandem haurire parat demissis flumina palmis
Innixus dextro plena trahens umero.
Cuius ut accensae Dryades candore puellae
Miratae solitos destituere choros
Prolapsum <et> leuiter facili traxere liquore,
Tum sonitum rapto corpore fecit Hylas:
Cui procul Alcides ter 'Hyla' respondet, at illi
Nomen ab extremis montibus aura refert.
His, o Galle, tuos monitus seruabis amores,
Formosum nymphis credere †uisus† Hylan.

2.8

Eripitur nobis iam pridem cara puella
Et tu me lacrimas fundere, amice, uetas!

26 nunc superat (*ambobus locis*) *Rossberg*: hunc super et O Zetes v^t: zet(h)us *cett* 27 plantis εη: palmis O: plumis *cod Helm 338*, *Livineius* 29 *sic Heinsius* (*malim* ab ala *uel* extremam ... ad alam): i. sub e. pendens secluditur ala (ali A) O 30 armo *Housman* 31 cessit δ: cesset O: cessat η 32 at *Ayrmann*, *Unger* Hylas ibat ibat mru Hamadryasin *Turnebus*, *Scaliger*: amadrias hinc O: Ephydriasin *Baehrens*, *Powell* 35 mille A s 37 ilia A c 40 flores *Guyet* 43 flumine A 44 nixus et exserto *Heinsius* 47 et *add Heinsius* 48 iecit *Carutti*, *Francken* 49 ter Hyla respondet at *Fontein*: iterat responsa sed O 50 fontibus O, *corr Heinsius* 52 fisus *Lachmann* f. ni uis perdere rursus (rursus *iam* η: rusus *Housman*) H. *Palmer*

2.8 N vmrusc FP(bn) *Versuum ordo multis suspectus* 2 at σ

Nullae sunt inimicitiae nisi amoris acerbae:
  Ipsum me iugula, lenior hostis ero.
Possum ego in alterius positam spectare lacerto?
  Nec mea dicetur quae modo dicta mea est?
'Omnia uertuntur: certe uertuntur amores.
  Vinceris: at uinces: haec in amore rota est.
Magni saepe duces, magni cecidere tyranni,
  Et Thebae steterunt altaque Troia fuit.'
Munera quanta dedi, uel qualia carmina feci:
  Illa tamen numquam ferrea dicit 'amo.'
Ergo <ego> iam multos nimium temerarius annos,
  Improba, qui tulerim teque tuamque domum?
Ecquandone tibi liber sum uisus? an usque
  In nostrum iacies uerba superba caput?
Sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti?
  Sed morere: interitu gaudeat illa tuo.
Exagitet manes, sectetur et umbras,
  Insultetque rogis, calcet et ossa mea.
Quid? non Antigonae tumulo Boeotius Haemon
  Corruit ipse suo saucius ense latus,
Et sua cum miserae permiscuit ossa puellae,
  Qua sine Thebanam noluit ire domum?
Sed non effugies: mecum moriaris oportet:
  Hoc eodem ferro stillet uterque cruor.
Quamuis ista mihi mors est inhonesta futura:
  Mors inhonesta quidem, tu moriere tamen.
Quin etiam abrepta desertus coniuge Achilles
  Cessare in Teucris pertulit arma sua,
Vidit et ire †fugas tractos† in litore Achiuos,
  Feruere et Hectorea Dorica castra face,

4 leuior FPbn mru eris *Bolt*, *Burman* 6 quae modo N X: quomodo FPb 7-10 *Properti amico dant Hertzberg*, *Carutti*, *alii* 7-8 *post 9-10 transt Müller*, *Postgate*, *sicut in cod Pal lat 910 nondum correcto leguntur* 7 amantes P s 8 at uinces *Palmer* (uinces *iam* δ,s): aut uincis O: ut uincas *Shackleton Bailey* 10 steterant O, *corr Pontanus*, *Scaliger*, *alii* 11-12 *secluserunt Housman*, *Postgate*, *fort recte* 12 dicit Flor 2, FPbn: dixit N X 13 ego *add Francius* tam P 14 quin N^{ac} fidem ρ 15 et quandone FPbn c *post u 16 lac statuit Lachmann*, *qui u 17 nouam elegiam inc* 25 effugies θ: effucies N^{pc}: efficies N^{ac} X FPbn 26 ferro eodem N *post u 28 lac statuit Baehrens* 29 quin *scripsi*: ille O 30 Teucris τ, *Housman*: tectis O: Teucros δ 31,33 uidit et *scripsi*: uiderat O 31 ire *Palmer*, *Winbolt*: ille O fuga stratos *Passerat*: fuga fractos *Fruter*, *Huschke*, *Winbolt* (fuga *iam* P^{t}) 32 transtra *Heinsius*

Vidit et informem multa Patroclon harena
  Porrectum et sparsas caede iacere comas,
Omnia formosam propter Briseida passus:
  Tantus in erepto saeuit amore dolor.
At postquam sera captiua est reddita poena,
  Fortem ille Haemoniis Hectora traxit equis:
Inferior multo cum sim uel matre uel armis,
  Mirum si de me iure triumphat Amor?
Iste quod est, ego saepe fui: sed fors et in hora 9.1
  Hoc ipso eiecto carior alter erit. 2

3.6

Dic mihi de nostra quae sensti uera puella 1
  (Sic tibi sint dominae, Lygdame, dempta iuga): 2
Omnis enim debet sine uano nuntius esse, 5
  Maioremque †timens† seruus habere fidem. 6
Nunc mihi, si qua tenes, ab origine dicere prima 7
  Incipe: suspensis auribus ista bibam. 8

Num me laetitia tumefactum fallis inani 3
  Haec referens quae me credere uelle putas? 4
Sicine eram incomptis uidisti flere capillis? 9
  Illius ex oculis multa cadebat aqua? 10
Nec speculum <in> strato uidisti, Lygdame, lecto, 11
  Scriniaque ad lecti clausa iacere pedes, 14
Ac maestam teneris uestem pendere lacertis? 13
  Ornabat niueas nullane gemma manus? 12
'Tristis erat domus et tristes sua pensa ministrae 15
  Carpebant, medio nebat et ipsa loco
Vmidaque impressa siccabat lumina lana,

34 madere *Baehrens* 37 sera *om* FPn 38 ille *cod Paris 7990, van Kooten*: illum O: idem *Müller* 39 marte O, *corr cod Barb 23, Puccius* 40 ni *Burman uersus 9.1-2 cum 8.40 coniunxi, post 8.8 Scaliger, Richmond* 9.1 *malim* nempe 9.2 electo O, *corr* ε *3.6* N vmrusc FLPZ 1 sensti *scripsi*: sentis O 2 sic N X F: sit L^{ac}: si $L^{pc}PZ$ 3-4 *post 8 transtulit Housman* 5 uano nuntius esse N X: uanus esse F: uanis (uanus L^{ac}) esse relator $LP^{pc}PZ$ 6 timens) metu *Muretus, Guyet, Heinsius* 7 non N 8 hausta *Heinsius* 3 num mrus: non N: dum α vc 9 siccine δ: sicut X α: si N eram *cod Barb lat 23, Damsté*: eam O (eā *e* cā *corr*N1) 11 *fort* Et in *add Heinsius* 12, 14 *inter se mutauit Suringar* 15-34 *Lygdamo dant Beroaldus, Canter* 16 foco *Dousa, Heinsius*

Rettulit et querulo iurgia uestra sono:
"Haec te teste mihi promissa est, Lygdame, merces!
Est poena et seruo rumpere teste fidem.
Ille potest nullo miseram me linquere facto
Ac qualem nolo dicere habere domi:
Gaudet me uacuo solam tabescere lecto:
Si placet, insultet, Lygdame, morte mea!
Non me moribus illa sed herbis improba uicit:
Staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota,
Illum turgentis ranae portenta rubetae
Et lecta exsectis† anguibus ossa trahunt
Et strigis inuentae per busta iacentia plumae
†Cinctaque funesto lanea uitta toro.
Si non uana canunt mea somnia, Lygdame, testor,
Poena erit ante meos sera sed ampla pedes,
Putris et in uacuo texetur aranea lecto:
Noctibus illorum dormiet ipsa Venus."'
Quae tibi si ueris animis est questa puella,
Hac eadem rursus, Lygdame, curre uia
Et mea cum multis lacrimis mandata reporta,
Iram, non fraudes, esse in amore meo:
Me quoque consimili impositum torrerier igni
Iurabo, bis sex integer ipse dies.
Quod mihi si e tanto felix concordia bello
Exstiterit, per me, Lygdame, liber eris.

4.11

Desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum:
Nempe tuas lacrimas litora surda bibent.
Cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges,

18 uestra *Gruppe*: nostra O 20 poena et *Shackleton Bailey*: poenae O 22 ac qualem *Scaliger*: (a)equalem X α: et qualem N nolo *Palmer*: nulla X α: nullo N domi *Heinsius*: domo O 27 sanie *Heinsius* 28 ex(s)uctis *Burman*, *Housman*, *alia alii*: *fort* delecta et sectis 29 recentia *Heinsius* (*qui et* tepentia), *Francius*, *van Eldik* 30 tinctaque *Barber*: uinctaque *Heinsius*: cleptaque *Shackleton Bailey*: demptaque *Smyth* uitta PZ v: uicta mrusc F: uita N L toro *Heinsius*: uiro O 38 meum *Smyth* 39 torrerier *Palmier*: torquerier O 40 ipse *Housman*: esse O 41 quid α mihi si X α: nisi N e *Lachmann*: et N, *om* X α quodsin e *Müller*

4.11 N (*desunt uu 17-76*) vmrusc FLPZ *uersus 1-6 sic ordinauit Boot*: 1,6,7,4,5,2,3,8 *Goold* 3 leges) sedes *Heinsius*, *Burman*

Panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces:
Te licet orantem fuscae deus audiat aulae,
Non exorato stant adamante uiae.
Vota mouent superos: ubi portitor aera recepit,
Obserat herbosos lurida porta rogos.†
Sic maestae cecinere tubae, cum subdita nostrum
Detraheret lecto fax inimica caput.
Quid mihi coniugium Paulli, quid currus auorum
Profuit, aut famae pignora tanta meae?
Num minus immites habuit Cornelia Parcas?
En sum quod digitis quinque legatur onus.
Damnatae noctes, et uos, uada lenta, paludes,
Et quaecumque meos implicat ulua pedes,
Immatura licet, tamen huc non noxia ueni,
Nec precor hic umbrae mollia iura meae:
At, si quis posita iudex sedet Aeacus urna,
Is mea sortita iudicet ossa pila,
Adsideant fratres et iuxta Minoida sellam
Eumenidum intento turba seuera foro.
Sisyphe, mole uaces: taceant Ixionis orbes:
Fallax Tantaleo† corripiare liquor,
Cerberus et nullas hodie petat improbus umbras,
Et iaceat tacita laxa catena sera.
Ipsa loquor pro me: si fallo, poena sororum
Infelix umeros urgeat urna meos.
Si cui fama fuit per auita tropaea decori,
†Aera Numantinos regna loquuntur auos:†

4 uiae) serae *Heinsius*, *Peerlkamp*: fores *Heinsius* 8 umbrosos *cod Ambrosiani D 267 inf corrector* locos *cod Ambros I 67 sup*^{vl}, *Livineius teste Carutti*, *Schrader*, *Markland* 13 num X α: non 4 14 en *cod Groninganus*, *Guyet*: et O leuatur μ 15 noctes et) testes et *Housman*: noctis set *Richmond*: nocti set *Sandbach*: tenebris sed *Goold* paludis *Santen* d. noctis sedes, u. l. Acherontis *temptaui* 16 unda O, *corr Schrader*, *Markland* 17-76 *desunt in N*, *uno folio abscisso* 18 nec precor *Peerlkamp*: det pater O: deprecor *Koppiers* huic P 19 aut O, *corr cod Vat lat 3188*, *Nestor*, *Koppiers* iudex) uindex *Camps*: *malim* iustus 20 in O, *corr Heinsius* iudicet vmrusc LPZ: uindicet F 21 et Minoida sellam *Barber*: Minoida sellam *Maturantius*, *alii*: minoia sella et vmrus: minoia sella α c 24 corripere ore *Auratus* 25-6 *interpolatos esse suspicatus est Carutti* 26 sed *Koppiers* 27 loquar δ fallo ε: fallor O: fallam *Peerlkamp* 29 decora trophei α 30 (a)era vmrusc: et LPZ, *uersum om F spatio relicto*: nostra *Baehrens* regna) signa *Baehrens*: nostra *Palmer*, *Richmond*

Altera maternos exaequat turba Libones,
  Et domus est titulis utraque fulta suis.
Mox, ubi iam facibus cessit praetexta maritis
  Vinxit et acceptas altera uitta comas,
Iungor, Paulle, tuo sic discessura cubili
  Vt lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar.
Testor maiorum cineres tibi, Roma, colendos
  Sub quorum titulis Africa tunsa iacet,
. . . . . .
†Et Persen proaui stimulantem pectus Achilli,
  Quique tuas proauos fregit Achille domos,†
Me neque censurae legem mollisse neque ulla
  Labe mea uestros erubuisse focos:
Non fuit exuuiis tantis Cornelia damnum:
  Quin et erat magnae pars imitanda domus.
Nec mea mutata est aetas: sine crimine totam
  Viximus insignes inter utramque facem.
Mi natura dedit leges a sanguine ductas,
  Nec possis melior iudicis esse metu.
Quamlibet austeras de me ferat urna tabellas,
  Turpior adsessu non erit ulla meo,
Vel tu, quae tardam mouisti fune Cybeben,
  Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae,
Vel cuius, seros cum Vesta reposceret ignes,
  Exhibuit uiuos carbasus alba focos.
Nec te, dulce caput, mater Scribonia, laesi:
  In me mutatum quid nisi fata uelis?

31 ligones O, *corr Beroaldus* materno se ... Libone *Jacob* 34 uitta vc: uicta *cett* 35 sic) con F, *om in lac* Ll dissessura FLZ s 36 In O, *corr Graevius*, *Heinsius* 38 tonsa Z iacet *cod Burney 241*, *Peerlkamp*: iaces O *post u 38 lac duorum uersuum statuit Munro* 39 te *Boot*, *Santen*: at s Perseu P proauo stimulatum ... Achille *Heinsius* (proauo ... Achille *iam Lipsius*) simulantem *cod Groninganus*, *Santen*, *Heyne* 40 quique tuas) qui tumidas *Heyne* proauos v^{t}mrus: proauo α: proauus $v^{vl}c$ 41 neque (ulla) *cod Harley 5246*: nec O 42 focos) Lares *cod Dresdensis Dc 133ac*, *Koppiers* 43 ton ... exuuii stantis α tulit *Heinsius* 44 erat et *codd Corsinianus 43.E.8*, *Groninganus*, *Peerlkamp* 45 totam *van Eldik*: tota est O 46 insignem α 48 nec *Maturantius*: ne O possim M 49 quamlibet *Pontanus*, *Livineius*: quaelibet O, *quo retento legendum est* umbra (*van Eldik*) demum *Guyet* 50 assessu *Muretus*: assensu mrus α: adscensu vc: accensu *Housman* 52 Claudia $L^{vl}P$: gaudia *cett* 53 seros *Clausen*: rasos α: iasos X 54 carbasis α

Maternis laudor lacrimis urbisque querelis,
  Defensa et gemitu Caesaris ossa mea:
Ille sua nata dignam uixisse sororem
  Increpat, et lacrimas uidimus ire deo.
†Et tamen emerui generosos uestis honores,
  Nec mea de sterili facta rapina domo.
Et bene habet: numquam matri lugubria sumpta:
  Venit in exsequias tota caterua meas,
Vidimus et fratrem sellam geminasse curulem,
  Consul quo factus tempore rapta soror.
Tu, Lepide, et tu, Paulle, meum post fata leuamen,
  Condita sunt uestro lumina nostra sinu:
Filia, tu specimen censurae nata paternae,
  Fac teneas unum nos imitata uirum.
†Et serie fulcite genus: mihi cumba uolenti
  Soluitur, †uncturis tot mea fata malis:†
Haec est feminei merces extrema triumphi,
  Laudat ubi emeritum libera fama torum.
Nunc tibi commendo communia pignora, Paulle:
  Haec cura et cineri spirat inusta meo.
Fungere maternis uicibus pater: illa meorum
  Omnis erit collo turba ferenda tuo.
Oscula cum dederis tua flentibus, adice matris:
  Tota domus coepit nunc onus esse tuum.
Tu si quid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis:
  Cum uenient, siccis oscula falle genis.
Sat tibi sint noctes quas de me, Paulle, fatiges
  Somniaque in faciem credita saepe meam,

57 fraternis *Peerlkamp* 61 et) sed *Koppiers* mater merui *Peerlkamp* 62 toro *Heinsius* 97-8 *post 62 transt Peerlkamp, Carutti, Housman, Postgate* 97 et) sed *Markland*: en *Pontanus*: at *Koppiers* numquam N X: numquam *bis* FL: numquam unquam P: nuquam nuquam Z matri ... sumpta *Baehrens*: mater ... sumptum O lugubria θ: lubrigia N X: lubrica α: subrigia P^{vl} sumpsi θ 65-6, 63-4 *inter se mutaui*: 65-6 *post 98 Housman, Postgate, post 62 Enk* 66 consul ... factus *Lachmann*: consule ... facto O 63 tu ... tu *Maturantius, uulgo*: te ... te O 64 uestro *om* α 68 unum *om* α 69 et serie) uos serie *Withof*: progenie *Boot* est (*malim* sit) serie sic fulta domus *Baehrens* 70 aucturis (*ed princeps*) tot mea facta meis *Postgate*: soluit uicturis (θ) post mea fata meis *Slothouwer, Peerlkamp*: soluit lucturis tot mea fata meis *ed Eton teste Santen* 72 torum *Koppiers*: rogum O 73 Paulle *scripsi*: natos O 77 mater O, *corr Maturantius*, στ, *Puccius* 79 tu *scripsi*: et O: sed *Burman* quis ... erit O, *corr* μστ testibus: illi *Peerlkamp* 81 sunt α

Atque ubi secreto nostra ad simulacra loqueris
  Vt responsurae singula uerba iace.
Seu tamen aduersum mutarit ianua lectum
  Sederit et nostro cauta nouerca toro,
Coniugium, pueri, laudate et ferte paternum:
  Capta dabit uestris moribus illa manus.
Nec matrem laudate nimis: collata priori
  Vertet in offensas libera uerba suas.
Seu memor ille mea contentus manserit umbra
  Et tanti cineres duxerit esse meos,
Discite uenturam iam nunc lenire senectam,
  Caelibis ad curas nec uacet ulla uia.
Quod mihi detractum est uestros accedat ad annos:
  Prole mea Paullum sic iuuet esse senem.
Causa perorata est: flentes me surgite, testes,
  Dum pretium uitae grata rependit humus.
Moribus et caelum patuit: sim digna merendo
  Cuius honoratis ossa uehantur auis.

84 singula) sic tua *Peerlkamp*, *Boot* tace O, *corr cod Lusatici m2*, *Beroaldus* 85 si (*cod Lusatici m2*) *uel* sin *Baehrens* 92 dixerit LPZ 93 lenire *Koppiers*, *Schrader*: sentire O 93-4 *post* caelibis *dist Peerlkamp* 94 ualet N uias N: dies *Santen*, *Peerlkamp* 95 nostros FL 99 me) iam *Heinsius* 101 sum τ, *Fruter* 102 uehuntur α auis *Heinsius*: aquis N v^t α: equis v^{vl} mrusc

NOTES TO THE SAMPLE TEXTS

These texts chiefly illustrate the changes to the apparatus that follow from this study and help to justify it. I have therefore taken the opportunity to present my views on the text in a more extreme form, above all as regards my own conjectures, than I might in the more clinical format of a complete critical text. The remarks that follow are not intended as a commentary but explain, where appropriate, the constitution of the apparatus or the history of the text; I justify my conjectures only when there has been no serious recent discussion of the difficulties of the paradosis.

The principal aim of the apparatus is to present the material necessary for reconstructing the archetype, that is, the readings of the three branches. Individual errors of these branches are reported more consistently than, for instance, in the Oxford Text (which suppresses many errors of the Petrarchan family). One branch must be reconstructed entirely from its descendants, as another must for most of the text; individual errors of these descendants are generally suppressed unless there is some reasonable doubt about the text; corrections in all the witnesses are usually ignored, for reasons outlined in my conclusion. In 2.8 bn are not cited except as they help to establish the reading of Petrarch's copy. A second aim has been to present an adequate sample of plausible or diagnostic conjectures, a third to report the *recentiores* in a useful and valuable way, largely by isolating groups of manuscripts and individual copies that contribute consistently and significantly to the emendation of the text. The difference in this respect between the present edition and Hanslik's Teubner text can be illustrated with two examples from 2.8. Through an easy error of transciption many manuscripts read 'et quando ire' in 15 (Hanslik lists seven by siglum then puts a lower case sigma indicating that up to as many as twenty five manuscripts have it in all); since it is not in the least plausible as a conjecture, it is not reported here. In 14, on the other hand, a group of Roman manuscripts reads 'fidem' for 'domum'; this, which is a plausible (though probably unnecessary) conjecture, is reported here but not by Hanslik. The major problems of reporting the humanistic tradition are first to be certain that a reading is a conjecture and not an error and second to decide (whatever it is) whether it should be reported. At 4.11.70 the widely accepted 'aucturis' is a typographical error of the *editio princeps* which passed into a few later editions and a handful of manuscripts derived from them; it could, however, be right. At least nine manuscripts read 'facta' in the same line, but confusion of 'fata' / 'facta' is so common that there is no

reason to suspect conscious alteration (especially when the rest of the corrupt line remains intact); here there is no significance whatever to the fact that a manuscript reads 'facta.' At 4.11.42 Dresden Dc 133 before correction reads 'Lares,' as conjectured by Peerlkamp, for 'focos'; this must be an error rather than a conjecture, since the scribe corrected it immediately, but it is worth reporting because it illustrates the process by which a scribe might unconsciously have substituted 'focos' for 'Lares.'

1.20

1-4 In 1 the readings of the manuscripts imply 'hec' (ie, 'haec') in the archetype. Though corruption of 'hoc' to 'nec' is scarcely less easy than that of 'hec' to 'hoc' and 'nec,' the plural is guaranteed by 51, which rounds off the poem with an elaborate echo of the first line (note especially 'haec ... monemus' 1 and 'his ... monitus' 51). As authorities for 'haec' FPn are cited not as witnesses to the tradition but as the earliest source for a conjecture (apparently Petrarch's copy read 'haec'; one would like to know whether by his conjecture or by scribal error). The comparison of 1 and 51 also establishes that 'haec' refers to the story of Hercules and Hylas, not to the *sententia* of 3-4 (cf Postgate, '*hoc* referring vaguely to the advice in the poet's mind which he is going to ... support by an example'); therefore 'id' (2) must look ahead to that *sententia*. As Postgate observes, however, 'id' for 'illud' in such a case 'is a very doubtful usage'; to avoid it he repunctuated the passage in an unlikely way, joining 2-4 and leaving 'id' simply to reinforce 'hoc' ('and lest it slip from thy unthinking mind, the Ascanius, so cruel to the Minyae, will tell thee that fortune often crosses the lover unawares'). It is more likely, however, that 'id' is a corruption of the expected 'illud' and 'tibi' a gloss, probably on 'defluat,' perhaps on 'uacuo' (ie, 'tibi uacuo' rather than 'ex animo uacuo'). Editors put a full stop at the end of 3, taking 'crudelis' with 'Minuis,' but 'crudelis' is essential to the meaning of 3; both 'fortuna' and 'occurrit' can have negative connotations, but nothing in the context except 'crudelis' can give such a colouring ('often chance crosses a careless lover's path' is so obviously true a statement as to be pointless). The supposed construction of 4 is harsh, since one must supply both a direct and an indirect object, of which the latter is particularly difficult (editors tell us to supply 'tibi'), and the potential (or, according to some, future) 'dixerit' has not yet been explained clearly; dissociation of 'crudelis' from Ascanius leaves the construction completely impossible. Neither the reading of A nor any

of the conjectures based upon it convinces. 'Durus ut' could easily have been corrupted to 'dixerit' or to 'dixerat' (the archetype appears to have read 'dixerit'; the *a* could perhaps represent a *u* that corrected *-it* to 'ut,' but it may mean that the exemplar of the archetype read 'dixerat'). 'Often chance cruelly crosses the incautious lover, as the unfeeling Ascanius did the Minyans' is unproblematical in sense and syntax and introduces the story of Hylas to illustrate the warning which the poet gives.

5 No commentator has explained what it means that Hylas is 'not below appearance.' Postgate took the 'speciem' as belonging to Hercules' Hylas; he supported his rendering 'not ... inferior to his beauty' with Hor *S* 2.1.75 'infra Lucili censum,' which shows exactly what the passage requires if the accusative is to be retained, a word or phrase indicating to whose beauty Hylas is not inferior; one can neither supply a genitive 'Hylae' by anticipation from 'Hylae' (dative) in 6 nor construe 'infra speciem' with an ethical dative, least of all with the possessive dative 'tibi' already present. 'Infra' (adverb) with ablative of respect is well attested in Silver Latin poetry and prose.

6 That some ancestor at least of the archetype read 'Theio-' rather than 'Thio-' seems guaranteed by 'thero-' in the archetype. Confusion of *r* and *i*, which is confined to minuscule scripts, is apparent both in the archetype, as here, and in its immediate descendants (cf 3.3.11 'Lares' F: 'lacres' X LPZ: 'lacies' N; 4.11.53 'rasos' FLPZ: 'iasos' X), and suggests that both the archetype and its exemplar were written in such a script, presumably Carolingian.

7 The structure of 7-10 requires a specific resort for 7 as well as 8 and 9. Hoeufft's 'Umbrae sacra' is perhaps too general, though Clitumnus is of sufficient touristic interest; Heinsius' neglected 'Thesprotae' (cf 1.11.3) introduces a resort that does not abound in rivers and disrupts a possible north-south movement; 'Sila' (Scaliger) was shady but harboured bandits, not holiday-makers.

9 'Gigantei,' most recently supported by Shackleton Bailey, appears in several manuscripts, probably as an independent conjecture in every case. The earliest manuscripts to read it are probably Brit Libr Add 23766, written by Mattia Canali in 1468, and Casanatense 3227, written by Franciscus Maturantius about 1468-72. Mons 218/109 is contemporary with these or perhaps a little earlier; Bodleian Library Canon Class lat 31 and Barb lat 23 were written near the end of the century. The 'codex Regius Burmanni' to which the OCT attributes it is Paris BN lat 8236, a late copy which reads it only after correction. The manuscripts are unrelated except for some distant affinity between Barb lat 23 and Casanatense 3227.

13 'Sit duros,' which the OCT attributes to 'codd. Heinsii' and Lipsius, appears in the manuscripts only as a variant in Pontano's copy in his own hand (Hanslik's apparatus does not record it) and is presumably his own conjecture ('sit durum,' however, is fairly common). Cf chapter 8, p 157 and note 8.

25-30 Cf *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 69-75.

32 Contrary to the statements of Smyth and Barber, the *Itali* appear not to have conjectured 'Hamadryasin,' which occurs first in the edition of Scaliger (his note, 'scribe, Hamadryasin,' implies that the conjecture is his own), in the published conjectures of Turnebus, and in the Plantin edition of 1587. 'Ephydriasin' (Baehrens, Powell) is supported by Alex Aet fr.3.22 Powell but does not suit the *ductus litterarum* of the paradosis; conceivably, however, the more familiar 'Hamadryasin' had already replaced it at some pre-archetypal stage.

49-50 The paradosis is vague and confusing; Hylas makes a noise, then 'from afar Hercules repeats answers to him, but the air brings a name to him from the depths of (*or* from the far side of) the pool.' Only familiarity with the story from other sources can tell us that the 'nomen' is likely to be Hylas' rather than Hercules' (only in Theoc 13.59-60 does Hylas reply from the pond, but such a situation is excluded here by 'aura refert'). Fontein's neglected conjecture in 49 is very attractive; to Hylas' cries Hercules answers 'Hylas,' and this name echoes back from the mountains (with Heinsius' 'montibus' in 50); cf Verg *E* 6.43f, where the Argonauts shout 'ut litus "Hyla Hyla" omne sonaret,' Val Flacc 3.596f 'rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat auia,' Theoc 13.58 τρὶσ μὲν Ἔτλαν Ὕδυσεν. Medieval orthography and 'scriptura continua' could have initiated the corruption, 'terila' (perhaps by way of 'terita') becoming 'iterat'; 'respondet at' was then altered for self-evident reasons. The archetype probably read 'hil(a)e' in 6 ('hile' N X: 'yle' A) and 'hilas' in 32; for the process of corruption and interpolation cf 4.7. 65 'sua maternis' corrupted to 'suma eternis' (by way of 'sumaaternis'?) and then to 'summa eternis.' It should be added that 'montibus' is supported by 13-14, where Gallus is warned of having to endure 'montes,' 'saxa,' and 'lacus' as Hercules did.

2.8

This elegy and 2.9 have often been regarded as companion pieces. Both concern infidelity; both apparently share such motifs as death and suicide, ingratitude, and the inconstancy of women. The similarities, as well as the difficulties in

sequence of thought that each offers, have appeared so great that some scholars since the time of Scaliger have, so to speak, shuffled together their couplets and cut the deck to create two new poems; others who have accepted the transmitted order of lines have divided either or both into two or more fragments. Those who have defended the poems just as they have been transmitted have not always paid sufficiently close attention to the text or have explained the sequence of thought inadequately. One must be careful to distinguish the situations of 2.8 and 2.9, which are not 'the same,' as stated by Butler and Barber and others. The subject of the former is an apparently permanent rejection of Propertius in favour of another lover, the subject of the latter a merely *ex tempore* liaison. In 2.8.1 Cynthia is being seduced away by another man ('eripitur': the present tense may imply that the process is not yet complete, making the poet's reaction all the more extreme), while it appears in 2.9.23-4 that Cynthia has sought the company (for a single night, as is clear from 19-20) of a man who previously rejected her; Propertius cannot in the latter passage sarcastically wish that Cynthia might succeed in making this man her lover ('di faciant, isto capta fruare uiro') if he has already conquered her in 2.8. Nor can Propertius rail against her for not staying home one night to wait for him if she is no longer his mistress. Distinguishing these situations is complicated by the circumstance that the archetype apparently divided the poems incorrectly, making the last couplet of 2.8 the first of 2.9 (in other words, the present editor makes a new cut in the deck without shuffling first). Arguably 2.9.1-2 are much more at home in 2.8 than in 2.9. The 'iste' of 1 remains unexplained until 23-4; even then he remains a purely incidental figure until 47-52. The theme of 1-2 is the wheel of love that raises and lowers the lover's fortunes; Propertius anticipates the day when his rival will be ousted in turn. But the 'rival' of 2.9 is a man who previously jilted Cynthia and has now been sought out by her for an evening's entertainment; as the sarcastic wish of 24 shows, Propertius does not seriously believe that this man will become her lover. No other elegy that announces its situation through a series of *exempla* prefaces them with any introduction, least of all with a couplet whose relevance is not even suggested until the poem is nearly half over (cf 1.3, 2.6, 2.14, 2.20). On the other hand, 2.9.1-2 fit well into 2.8, where the wheel of love is introduced in 7-8 to console Propertius for his seemingly irremediable loss of Cynthia. They particularly suit the end of the elegy, where Propertius shows that Achilles, though reduced to extremities by love, was able to recover his mistress and partially erase his disgrace by killing Hector (37f), then reflects wryly that his

own mortal lineage has doomed him to helplessness in his struggles with Amor. With 2.9.1-2 appended, he next considers his current defeat ('iste quod est, ego saepe fui': the context establishes sufficiently that 'iste' is not the 'Amor' of 40); then, recalling the wheel of love with which he was earlier consoled, he realizes that his replacement must himself inevitably be replaced in turn. Like Achilles, Propertius will have a sort of victory after all, and the possibility that he himself will replace his rival is not excluded; indeed, if 'at uinces' is right in 8, it could be the very idea intended. The addition of the couplet to 2.8 enables 2.8.7-10 to play a more organic role in the poem and removes from 2.8.40 the anomaly of the pleonastic 'iure,' which now contributes nothing to the sense not already expressed by 'mirum si' (cf Shackleton Bailey *ad loc*). Now 'iure' is not 'rightly, with reason' but refers specifically to the 'ius' of love, the law of mutability illustrated in 2.8.7-8 and 2.9.1-2. The problem of the division of elegies, especially in Book 2, is notorious (well presented by Boucher 337-41, Hubbard 44-7). It may be added that, apart from the possibility that 11-12 are intrusive, the order of lines in 2.8 seems secure. The last twelve, even in the corrupt text of the archetype, flow with evident clarity and coherence; that they are of a piece with the rest seems assured by the probable echo of *eripitur ... puella* (1) in *abrepta ... coniuge* (29) and again in *erepto ... amore* (36). Elsewhere, however, the poet proceeds abruptly from thought to thought in a sequence that may be paraphrased as follows: if the very nature of love makes dissolution inevitable, then he has wasted his time and money on Cynthia (11-14); (he might have realized this in any case:) indeed, she has always treated him arrogantly and abusively (15-16; 'in nostrum ... caput' surely has more lethal connotations than Butler's Loeb rendering 'at me' would suggest); if such is her hostility, then let her enjoy the spectacle of his death (17-20; cf 3.6.23f for the same sentiment); likewise Haemon could not continue living when deprived of his beloved (21-4; cf *Tib* 3.2 for another lover unable to live 'erepta coniuge'; unlike Propertius, however, Lygdamus passively accepts his death and hopes for Neaera's tears); but Haemon died on Antigone's corpse, and Propertius, in the utmost despair, determines to rectify the disparity by murdering Cynthia (25-8). One curious feature is either ignored or misunderstood by interpreters (the most important discussions are by Enk in *Latomus* 15 [1956] 181-5, with further observations and references in his commentary; T.A. Suits in *TAPA* 96 [1965] 427-37; D.P. Harmon in *CW* 68 [1975] 417-24; G. Williams *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* 478; and Boucher 438f): the links of this somewhat hysterical chain are joined by a series of

connective particles ('ergo' 13; 'ecquandone' 15; 'sic igitur' 17; 'quid non' 21; the adversative 'sed' 25; if right, 'quin' in 29 would be another). This juxtaposition of strict connection in the language and lack of any but emotional connection in the thought surely is intended to express the disorder of the lover's mind by exposing the (to him) logical process that leads, through a series of emotional convulsions, from weeping at the loss of a 'iam pridem cara puella' to planning her murder. The initial point of comparison between Propertius and Achilles in 29ff lies in the disgraceful behaviour shown by each upon the loss of his beloved: Propertius contemplates murder, Achilles abandoned his responsibilities and provoked the death of his dearest friend. The contrast between the desperate, agitated mood of 1-6 and 11-28 and the more lucid tone of 29ff (to which commentators have been curiously insensitive) evidently reflects a calming of the poet, who passes from frenzy to a certain wry humour, pacified at last by the consolation of 7-10. If 'ille' is retained in 29 a lacuna must be assumed in which the poet perhaps check himself and defends his extreme reaction by observing that even Achilles behaved 'inhoneste' when Briseis was taken; without such a lacuna it is difficult to see the function of the appeal to the authority of 'the great Achilles' ('ille ... Achilles') or (perhaps more important, since the ellipsis of thought may lie just this side of impossibility) the function of 'etiam.' The simplest course is to adopt 'quin' in 29 (with 'uidit et' in 31 and 33, on which see below). Propertius attempts to justify his conduct: 'Though your death disgrace me, yet you will die; yes, even Achilles let his weapons lie idle, watched the Greek ships burn, saw Patroclus lying dead and bloodied on the ground, suffering it all because of beautiful Briseis: such was the fury of his grief.' Like Achilles he is ready to wreak havoc; but the reflection that he is only a mortal and a weak one imposes the realization that for him there could be no remedying such a disgrace.

4 Editors tenaciously print 'ero' against the conjecture 'eris': they are probably right, but perhaps for the wrong reasons. Its extravagant point (haunting is the only outlet for the hostility of the dead) is easily accepted here not because Propertius always writes this way but because the earlier part of the poem attempts to depict the violent emotions aroused by the loss of a mistress. It may be added that, since the poem is concerned with the poet's emotions, his hostility toward his rivals is more in point than theirs toward him. There is an interesting parallel in Webster's *The White Devil* III ii 36-7, 'sever head from body: / We'll part good friends.'

25 It appears that the scribe of N first wrote 'efficies' with the other manuscripts; the early corrector (apparently

the second scribe) used a suprascript *u* to alter this to 'effucies,' but the change of *c* to *g* was made by the later corrector of ca 1500. It is possible that a corrector preserved so carefully a nonsensical reading of his exemplar. If the exemplar of N read 'effucies,' so probably did the archetype and so perhaps did X.

30 The paradosis prosaically makes Achilles leave his weapons in his tent; still worse is Guyet's conjecture 'thecis' (of which Broekhuyzen said 'nihil verius'). The continuation to 38 shows that Propertius wrote *Teucris*; Achilles sat idle during the Trojan assault on the Greek camp (*Iliad* 12-16), when the Greeks retreated (31), Hector burned their ships (32), and Patroclus went to fight in Achilles' place (33-4).

31, 33 It is remarkable that 'uidit et' has apparently not been proposed already. Though the Latin pluperfect is sometimes used where we should expect a simple perfect (in Propertius at 1.15.10, 3.8.1, and elsewhere), it seems impossible here, where the events of 31-4 occur after and as a consequence of the decision implied by 'pertulit' in 30. Moreover, 'omnia' (35) summarizes all the disasters of 31-4; and Propertius must introduce Achilles not to justify his decision to murder Cynthia by Achilles' decision not to fight but by the deaths to which it led, a point that is lost if 'uiderat' is retained. The corruption is an easy and common one; cf 2.29.10, where Z (and so DVVo) read 'dixerat' for 'dixit et.'

37 The OCT reports 'sera' as the uncorrected reading of P; if this were true, it would be necessary to assume contamination before copying from another manuscript, since Petrarch's copy evidently omitted the word. The scribe of P, however, when confronted by an obviously defective line, was able to locate the probable position of the missing word, leave a gap, and fill it in later from collation or conjecture; here he left too large a space and had to write 'sera' in larger letters than usual spaced generously.

38 Without 39-40 one could readily accept 'illum' in 38, but there is an obvious contrast between the lots of Achilles and Propertius, who respectively could and could not recover from their loss. Palaeographically there is little to choose between 'ille' and 'idem' as corrections. 'Ille' in Paris 7990 is probably accidental, since the manuscript is copied from the Milan edition of 1475, which reads 'illum,' and does not otherwise betray signs of interpolation.

39 'Matre' is surprisingly rare in the humanistic tradition ('in arte' is far more common); now it is one of the few conjectures that even the most conservative critics accept. Whether it is an accident or a conjecture in Barb lat 23 is an open question, since the manuscript shows both in abundance.

3.6

Perhaps in no author has the question of emendation by transposition assumed the dimensions that it has in Propertius. At one side stand the conservative critics who accept few transpositions or none (even Phillimore, however, moved 1.15.15-16, and most editors put 2.28.33-4 after 2), at the other, such figures as Scaliger, Housman, and Postgate, who were willing to transfer lines from one elegy - even from one book - to another, to alter completely the order of lines within an elegy, and sometimes to create new elegies from pieces of those transmitted. Butler and Barber warned that such drastic rearrangements should be resisted until some rational explanation could be provided, an opinion not shared by their two most recent defenders, Goold and Richardson. Goold argued that the critic needs to know only that something is amiss, not its cause; the extant copies do sometimes show minor omissions or displacements for which there is no obvious physical or palaeographical cause but nothing like the complete reordering of an elegy of 102 lines. Richardson suggested both that leaves had come loose in some early copy and that some couplets once contained on an errata leaf were scattered at random through the text by an uncomprehending scribe (Goold suggested a distinctly diabolical interpolator); errata leaves, however, are a modern invention, the theory of an interpolator cuts the knot too drastically, and Richmond's edition is the only attempt to show that whole pages have become dislocated. One should proceed cautiously, beginning if possible from absolutely certain examples where one can establish the necessity of correction, the necessity of transposition rather than verbal emendation, and the feasibility of the transposition. Since there is some disagreement about the limits of Propertian syntax and style, it is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve universal agreement about corruption; 3.6, however, arguably contains one or even two sure examples. As the poem begins, the poet requests information in 1-2; in 3-4 he reacts to a message whose content he knows well enough to suspect that Lygdamus might be attempting to deceive him. Lines 5-6 reinforce an appeal for truth like that in 1. In 7-8 the poet again appeals for information and seems to have heard nothing so far. Most translators conceal the contradiction by eliminating the concrete message to which Propertius reacts in 3-4; 'haec quae me credere uelle putas' is taken (impossibly) as a relative clause of characteristic. Others allege that in 7-8 Propertius requires Lygdamus to tell his news a second time, but 'dicere incipe' does not mean 'dic iterum'; 'si qua tenes' and 'nunc incipe' also support the observation that Propertius has not yet heard the message. Verbal emendation appears

fruitless, but a satisfying solution is offered by Housman's transposition of 3-4 to follow 8. The lines might have been omitted through homoearchon (*nc̄ m̄* confused with *nū me*) and mistakenly replaced after the prominent demand for information in 1-2; alternatively, the error may have been caused by anticipation if, after 1-2 were copied, the scribe's eye skipped from 'dic mihi' (1) to 'nunc mihi' (7), so that, as though he had just copied 7-8, he went on to copy the next couplet, the present 3-4. However explained, the transposition restores order to the paradosis; 3-4 refer to the message which Lygdamus delivers in a pause after 8 and whose contents will be repeated in 9-14. Scholars who have never examined or collated a manuscript (and those who pronounce upon the reliability of a tradition without knowing at first hand even their own author's manuscripts may be likened to physicians offering a diagnosis without having studied anatomy) seldom appreciate what havoc can be (but of course only infrequently is) wrought in a single stage of transmission. The majority of scribes were diligent and careful enough; some, however, were prone to omit or rearrange and could produce, or contribute to the production of, significantly disordered texts. One conspicuous example is the scribe of c, Pomponio Leto. Misled by identical or similar words at beginnings or ends of lines he omitted entirely 1.15.8-11 ('lapillis' 7, 'capillis' 11), 2.9.17-24 ('uiro' 16 and 24), 2.24.37-8 ('eras' 36 and 38), 2.32.41-50 ('manu' 40 and 50), and 4.9.17-18 ('boues' 16 and 18; for his omission of 3.10.17-18 see below), omitted before correction 3.17.6-11 ('amantes' 5 and 11), and repeated 2.16.46-7 after 53 ('procellas' 45, 'puellas' 53) and 3.6.24 after 33 ('lecto' 23 and 33). A majority of the extant manuscripts show at least a few such omissions or rearrangements, if only before correction; clearly the scarcity of copies of Propertius for comparison in late antiquity and the Middle Ages would have favoured a disordered text remaining in that condition.

There may be evidence that the margins of the archetype (or an ancestor) did contain omitted lines awaiting reintegration into the text. Both N and c omit 3.10.17-18; those who have claimed that the omission by N proves that the lines are not genuine have been answered with the observation that the presence of 'caput' at the end of 16 and 18 adequately explains the omission. The couplet, however, cannot belong in its present position, and Barber's query, 'an post 12 transferendi?' is far too diffident; surely the lines do belong after 12, for only the gods, not cosmetics, hairstyles, or garlands, can guarantee the everlasting beauty and erotic thralldom which Cynthia is told to seek in 17-18. The lines, in that position, were omitted because of the homoeoteleuton in 11 and 17 (pennis and pennis); a corrector added them to

the margin, where they stood in the archetype. Their status in the surviving copies can be explained in a manner generally consistent with the response of those copies to other corrections of the archetype. N ignored the lines as it ignored other corrections; A incorporated them; X retained them in the margin or, perhaps more likely, ignored them: if they were added in the Renaissance from F or San Marco 690, this would explain why Leto, who ignored other Renaissance corrections in X, did not include them.

Another passage in 3.6 has been emended plausibly through transposition. As 11-14 are transmitted, the order of details is casual; one might have expected the mirror and cosmetic case to be named together, but the former is paired with rings, the latter with a poorly fitting gown. There is also a lack of grammatical coherence, since the infinitives of 13-14 are governed by nothing in the context (the force of 'uidisti' in 11 cannot extend over the independent sentence 12, which cannot be dismissed as a parenthesis). Hence Suringar, with the approval of Enk and Shackleton Bailey, reversed the order of 12 and 14. The manuscripts offer an equally impossible construction in 3.4.13-18, where the force of 'uideam' 13 cannot extend to 17-18 over the intrusive 15-16. Those lines should probably be read in the order 13, 18, 17, 14-16 (the resulting alternation of direct objects and indirect statements is exactly paralleled in 3.1.25-8); the corruption was initiated by the similarity of 'axes' 13 to 'arcus' 17. The corruption supposed here was caused by the similar endings of 11 ('lecto') and 13 ('lacertis,' perhaps abbreviated 'lactis'); similarly Padua Bibl Capitolare C.77 presents 2.29.9-12 in the order 9,12,11,10 because of the homoearchon 'hic erat' 9 and 11. To me it seems more likely that a scribe made this simple and innocent error than that an Augustan poet composed the hash presented by the manuscripts; the editor of Propertius may well have to face the probability that at one or more stages the text fell into the hands of a scribe who, like Leto, was prone to omit and reorder. (Indeed, I should estimate the number of transpositions in Book 3 alone as no fewer than a dozen.) It must be noted, however, that even if scribal error (for which palaeographical causes may generally be found), is the major source of dislocation in the archetype, dislocation through other causes such as physical damage is not excluded.

1 Among modern editors only Camps has perceived the difficulties of 'sentis,' which makes Propertius ask Lygdamus' opinion about Cynthia; he tries to substitute the inapposite notion of correct opinion, but Lygdamus' reply consists of factual observations, not opinions. The syncopated perfect 'sensti' (cf 'duxti' restored at 1.3.27, 'consumpsti'

transmitted at 1.3.37, etc) is attested elsewhere only at Ter *And* 882 in the Bembinus.

5 It is not immediately clear what Petrarch's copy read here. Probably 'uanus' (FL^{ac}) is a conflation of 'uano nuntius'; 'uanus esse' then will be the reading of his manuscript, 'uanis esse relator' a conjecture to fill out the line ('relator,' probably suggested by 'referens' in 4, is post-classical in the sense of 'nuntius'). If the conjecture originated with Petrarch, we should expect to find it in F, added by F2 if not incorporated by the scribe; if it originated in the exemplar of LP, we should not expect it to appear in Z. Two equally plausible explanations may be offered; the conjecture is Petrarch's but was simply missed by both F1 (who perhaps thought it a gloss) and F2, surely not an impossible suggestion, or it was added to Petrarch's manuscript only after F was copied (and is then not Petrarch's conjecture). By laying some stress upon the fact that L read 'uanus' before correction one could argue that the source of LP read 'uanus' and that 'uanus' only was inherited from Petrarch's manuscript; therefore the conjecture 'uanis esse relator' was first made in the exemplar of LP, and Z may derive from that copy rather than from Petrarch's. The slip, however, is not necessarily significant. (There is no warrant for the statement of editors that L2 added 'relator.' The scribe wrote 'sine uanus esse relator,' then erased *us* and wrote in *is*; 'relator' is written smaller than the other words, but examination of Postgate's facsimile, which contains this line, shows that the scribe, had he continued writing at his normal scale, would have approached and perhaps crossed the left-hand edge of his second column. There is an analogous correction in 2, where L first wrote 'sit,' the probable reading of Petrarch's copy, then corrected to the interpolation 'si' shared by PZ.)

22 For the text of the archetype in this line cf chapter 3, p 73.

27 Heinsius' 'sanie' gives the toad something vile with which to swell; 'turgentis' alone could suggest ordinary bloating by air. In its only other occurrences in poetry (Juv 1.70, 6.659) the animal is called simply 'rubeta'; 'rana rubeta,' the term used by Pliny at *NH* 32.18.50-2, is evidently the prosaic version, and 'ranae' here could be a gloss.

28 The principal objection to 'exsectis' is that it ought to mean not 'cut open' but 'cut out'; cf Shackleton Bailey in *CQ* 43 (1949) 27 for post-classical examples where it does mean 'cut open,' esp Serv *ad* Verg *A* 7.761 'qui natus erat exsecto matris uentre'; 'ex(s)uctis,' advocated by Housman, may introduce an irrelevant point but could be supported by Hor *Epod* 5.37, where the manuscripts are divided between 'exsecta' and 'exsucta.' The conjecture 'delecta et sectis'

('and bones selected from gutted snakes' - certain bones would naturally be more potent than others, as the 'apocynon' was in love the most effective bone of the 'rubeta,' according to Pliny, above) assumes loss of the initial letter of the line (a common phenomenon) and coalescence of 'et sectis.'

4.11

The descendants of X perhaps contribute most here in 17-76, where they counterbalance the corrupt Petrarchan tradition with one at least as sound as N. The order of lines in 4.11 has proved as thorny a problem as in 2.8 (at least seven complete rearrangements have been proposed); once again, however, the difficulties are neither so great as some have claimed nor so small that they can be ignored. The sequence of ideas is almost everywhere adequately coherent if allowance is made for a certain amount of corruption especially at the beginnings of lines (probably the final pages of some copy were stained or rubbed away). The first fourteen lines constitute a prologue to Paullus on the finality of death (for the order of lines in 1-6 see below). Cornelia's speech proper begins at 15; she first addresses the unpopulated landscape, then imaginatively fills it with a board of 'iudices' and 'corona' of spectators. Beginning a biographical section that broadly outlines her life, she surveys first her ancestry, which does duty for birth (29-32), then her marriage and character as a wife (33-6); this is expanded in a broader treatment (37-62) of her innate virtue considered from several points of view (37-44 no disgrace to her family; 45-8 her virtue was constant; 51-6 she would not have disgraced Claudia, Aemilia, or her own mother; 57-60 she was mourned publicly, even by Augustus; 61-2 she bore an appropriate crop of children); Scribonia forms a kind of transition to Cornelia's funeral and death (56-66, 69-70). Here occurs the only serious difficulty in the order of lines: 63-4 are addressed to her sons and 67-96 or 98 concern her husband and children, but 65-6, though they refer to a member of her family, are clearly difficult in their present context, since 63-4 and 67-70 concern continuing the family line, 65-6 her brother's political career and her own death. This problem has been resolved here by placing 97-8 after 62 (so Housman, Postgate, and others) and reversing the order of 63-4 and 65-6 (Housman and Postgate also placed 65-6 after 98 but put 63-4 between 74 and 75). The loss of 97-8 can be explained palaeographically (through homoearchon, 'et tn̄' in 61 and 'et bn̄' in 97), as can the reversal of 63-4 and 65-6 (through homoearchon again, 'consul' in 66 and 'condita' in 64). Lines 97-8 and 65-6 then

constitute a sort of consolation by Cornelia to herself (all her children survived her, and in the year of her death she saw her brother attain the consulship), while the emphasis upon family provides a transition to the final section, which is entirely concerned with her family. Another suggestion worth mentioning is that the lines should be read in the order 1-62, 65-6, 97-8, 63-4, 67 *ad fin* (Enk proposed putting 65-6 after 62). In this arrangement the survival of Cornelia's children (61-2) and her brother's consulship (65-6) constitute the consolation; Cornelia is content to die because all her children survived her (97-8) and she died in their embrace (63-4). This order too can be justified palaeographically if we suppose that 97-8 were first omitted accidentally because the homoearchon 'consul' / 'condita' caused a scribe to skip from 66 to 63, then the same homoearchon led to the reversal of 65-6 and 63-4. The only possible objection is that 63-4, which refer to the moment of her death, are not likely to have come after 97-8, which refer to her children's attendance at her funeral. On the other side of this passage lines 67-70, despite the serious corruption in 69-70, clearly continue the themes of maintaining the line and of Cornelia's acquiescence in her death; the corruption may also have obscured the exact relevance of 71-2, which perhaps refer to the reputation of her children (reading 'torum' for 'rogum' in 72). The rest proceeds smoothly. Cornelia gives her 'mandata' to Paullus in 73-84; when she returns to her children (85-96) it is only to instruct them in how to treat their father. This outline of the poem conceals some minor problems of transition, such as at 61, where the adversative 'et tamen' is puzzling; the meaning may be that Cornelia's modesty did not preclude the bearing of children in respectable quantity. Corruption, however, is perhaps more likely; the poem contains so many lines which begin lamely with 'et' and exhibit at least minor difficulties of continuity that it is tempting to suspect that the final pages of some copy suffered fading or damage to their edges.

1-8 If the order of lines in the poem as a whole is sound, that in 1-6 is probably not. The most obvious difficulty is the disquieting manner in which hexameter and pentameter in the first three couplets do not quite match in thought (the 'lacrimae' of 1 must be understood as constituting the 'preces' of 2; the 'lacrimae' of 6 must be equated with the entreaties of 5; the 'uiae' of 4 must be understood as the way by which the infernal dominion was entered in 3). Boot's transposition secures cohesion in each couplet; Paullus is asked to stop weeping because his tears will not be heard past the shores of the underworld (for the same word repeated in the two opening lines cf 2.21.1-2, 2.22.1-2, etc); once

the dead have entered Hades, the door never opens to entreaties; though Pluto might hear Paullus 'orantem,' the paths to and from Hades are made of adamant 'non exorato.' Boot's has the important advantage over other rearrangements that it can be explained. A scribe first omitted 6 because of the homoeomeson 'lacrimis' / 'lacrimas,' then continued copying in sequence 3, 2, 5, 4; he supplied the missing 6 after 4 when he realized that there were too few pentameters to hexameters. This obviously impossible sequence was then corrected in the easiest manner possible, by reversing the order of 3, 2 and 5, 4, thus producing the order given by the archetype.

13 The agreement of X and α against N suggests that 'num,' rather than 'non,' was in the archetype (cf 3.6.3, where N again corrupted 'num' to 'non'). It could be argued that Propertius wrote 'non,' that 'non' was corrupted to 'num' in the archetype, and that N has accidentally restored what the poet wrote, but 'num' is more vigorous and deserves to be accepted despite the slight additional alteration it requires in 14.

15-20 Discussion of these lines must begin from the text of the archetype. In 20 many editors prefer 'uindicet' from F over 'iudicet' in LPDVVo, which the testimony of vmrusc guarantees as the text of the archetype. Now 'iudicet' in 20 is unlikely after 'iudex' in 19; Camps sensibly sought to alter 'iudex' rather than 'iudicet,' for 'uindicet,' with its notion of punishment, gives a sense wholly alien to the context (the notes of Postgate and Shackleton Bailey, both of whom read 'uindicet,' should be consulted). In 15-16 the paradosis is open to several objections: the plural 'noctes' is unidiomatic in such a context (what notion of repetition can the plural contribute to eternal darkness?), 'uada lenta paludes' is frigid and prosaic, and Cornelia appears to be speaking ankle-deep in water ('implicat unda pedes' is regularly defended with Verg *G* 4.479-80 and *A* 6.438-9 'palus inamabilis ... alligat,' which refer to Acheron surrounding the entire territory of Hades; Cornelia's 'pedes' make all the difference). For 'unda' in 16 then 'ulua' seems certain, but the text of 15 is still controversial. Shackleton Bailey observed that 'damnata' as epithet of 'nox' is apt and Propertian but did not answer the objection to the plural 'noctes.' Goold (84f) and Sandbach (*CQ* 55 [1962] 274f) sought to remedy this by applying 'damnatae' not to 'noctes' but to 'paludes' or 'paludes' and 'ulua,' to unhappy effect ('you sedge doomed to darkness'); the postponed 'sed' renders their conjectures still more unlikely. The conjecture 'damnatae noctis sedes' removes the objectionable plural but retains 'damnata' as epithet of 'nox'; some easy corruption and a little interpolation will produce 'et uos' readily enough from 'sedes' (perhaps by way of 'edes,'

the first *s* being lost after 'noctis'). The prosaic 'uada lenta paludes' is not improved by reading 'paludis' (which, as Shackleton Bailey observes, would require an epithet). It may be suggested therefore that 'paludes' is a gloss on 'uada lenta' which replaced a metrically equivalent and perhaps corrupt word that originally concluded the line; the only 'palus inamabilis' of the underworld that fits is the Acheron, but the supplement 'Acherontis' can only be 'exempli gratia' if the process of corruption has been described correctly. Line 17, at least, is sound, but Goold has shown that 'det pater' in 18 is corrupt. Even supposing (as remains to be established) that simple 'pater' could mean Dis (or even, with Richmond, Cornelia's own father), there is no reason for Cornelia, who proclaims her innocence several times, to request mercy; a Christian, however innocent his life, might say in the equivalent situation, 'May God have mercy on my soul,' since he believes all men sinful from birth, but Cornelia has done no wrong and requires no leniency. Palaeographically 'nec precor' is preferable to 'deprecor,' which Goold advocates; for confusion of *N* and *D* cf 4.9.47, where the archetype read 'sinonia' for 'sidonia,' and 3.6.3, where the Petrarchan family has 'dum' for 'num.' As emended, 18 creates the expectation of a contrasting statement: if Cornelia is innocent and needs no mercy, then she can demand the most severe judgment possible and still expect acquittal. This she seems to do in 19 (reading 'at' for 'aut') and 20 (reading 'is' for 'in'). As has been observed, the archetype read 'iudicet' in 20, which gives excellent sense when 'is' has been restored. As an alternative to Camps' 'uindex' in 19 one could eliminate the awkwardness of 'iudex / iudicet' by reading 'iustus,' contrasted with 'mollia' in 18. The name of Aeacus in itself does not convey the important notion of severity; 'iustus' has the advantage of a graphic similarity to 'iudex,' which originated as a gloss on 'Aeacus' or as a corruption initiated by 'iudicet' below.

21 The position of 'et' in vmrus suggests that in an ancestor of the archetype the word was omitted, then added to the margin by a corrector; thus 'et iuxta' is as likely as 'iuxta et.'

31 'Libones' is not securely found before the edition of Beroaldus, who takes no credit for the conjecture; it does appear in the Groninganus after correction, but Beroaldus is probably the source.

40 The readings of the manuscripts suggest 'proauus' in the archetype; whether X or A understood this correctly is unfortunately impossible to state with certainty.

50 'Assessu' is attributed by Smyth and Barber, following Burman, to the *recentiores*; it is not found outside the edition

of Muretus except as a correction by a late hand in Brit Libr Harley 2550, which has probably taken it from Muretus.

52 'Claudia' for 'gaudia' appears first in LP, whether as a correction of their common source or as a conjecture of Petrarch ignored by FZ (the former is perhaps more likely).

57 Peerlkamp's 'fraternis' is attractive. In this distich, where Cornelia describes the grief of the city and the 'princeps,' her brother the consul is more likely to be mentioned than the woman whom Augustus divorced because of her 'peruersitas morum.'

63 'Tu ... tu' first appears in Maturantius' copy after correction.

73 Here Cornelia turns to her husband, with whom she is concerned until very nearly the end of the poem. According to the manuscripts, however, she does not address him by name until 81, here using only 'tibi'; contrast the manner in which she passes her children in review (63 'et tu, Lepide, et tu, Paulle'; 67 'filia, tu'). Moreover, 73 contains the kind of appositional phrase already encountered in 15, a poetic periphrasis ('communia pignora') followed by a one-word prosaic 'translation' ('natos'); in the context no one needs to be told that 'communia pignora' are children. It may be suggested, therefore, that (as in 15) the single prosaic word is a gloss that has ousted the true reading from the text; 'Paulle' is perhaps likely enough to be restored to the text.

77 The earliest source for 'matris' is again Maturantius' copy, where it appears as the uncorrected reading of the text.

79 The couplets 77-8 and 79-80 present two contrasting situations: if the children are weeping and Paullus kisses them, he should kiss them for Cornelia as well (77-8); when Paullus is weeping and his children come to kiss him, he should conceal his tears from them (79-80). 'Et,' which begins 79, is not strong enough for this reversal; 'tu' is more forceful and no less plausible palaeographically than Burman's 'sed.'

84 The second hand in the Lusaticus probably belongs to the German scholar Johannes Mendel, who corrected the manuscript in 1469, well before the edition of Beroaldus, where 'iace' next appears.

92 'Duxerit' in F is presumably an example of how an extremely inaccurate scribe can occasionally 'correct' a reading of his exemplar.

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PART TWO

The Manuscripts

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PART TWO

The Manuscripts

1 Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai Σ.2.33
Italy (northeast?), s xv-xvi: single highly slanted humanistic hand. Parchment: 202x123.5 (130x80) mm: i+191 leaves (misnumbered 190 because of a skip from f 37 to 39): ruled in ink both sides of the page: 23-6 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}3^{10}$, 14^{8}, $15\text{-}19^{10}$, 20^{6} (-4, 5, 6): horizontal catchwords. Rubricated titles (sometimes alternating red and black): no initials executed. Modern binding of plain parchment. 2nd f inc: Parua satis mensa

Contents 1-44 Tibullus, followed by *Vita* and epitaph; 44-9 ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 49r-v 'Marasii siculi ad Angelinam amicam epistola' inc: Angelina meos numquam miserata dolores (from the *Angelinetum* of Giovanni Marrasio); 49v 'Virgilii Maronis breue Ephitaphium' inc: Mantua me genuit calabri rapuere tenet nunc (cf Donat *Vita Verg* 36); 50-134 'Propertii poetae illustris elegiarum primus liber incipit et primo ad Cynthiam ipsius amicam' (f 65 'Explicit primus et propertii secundus incipit'; f 94 'Propertii liber secundus explicit et eiusdem liber tertius foeliciter incipit'; f 114 'Explicit propertii nautae liber tertius, quartus uero eiusdem incipit foeliciter'; f 134 'Finis Propertii'); 134-v 'Libri titulus' (Anon, Derivation of Monobyblos: cf appendix); 134v-5v 'Vult puellam custodiri si eam amare debet' inc: Si tibi non opus est seruata stulte puella (Ovid *Am* 2.19); 136-7v 'Claudianus de Balneis patauinis elegia' inc: Fons anthenoreae uitam qui porrigis urbi (Claud *cm* 26); 138-88r Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 188-188v 'Ouidius Naso in libro de tristibus' inc: Temporis illius colui fouique poetas (Ovid *Tr* 4.10.41-54); 188v-9v 'Pii Papae Secundi uersus in turchum 1459' inc: Turche paras altae subuertere moenia romae (cf Cugnoni 'Opere inedite di Pio II ex codicibus Chisianis' *Atti della R. Academia dei Lincei, Serie 3, Memoria della classe di scienze*

morali, storiche, e filologiche VIII 684 n XCIII); ff 190-190v blank

Swoboda 18; Fischer 27 (88 Hanslik); F. Calonghi, 'Due codici tibulliani della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo' *Rivista Indo-Greca-Italica di Filologia-Lingua-Antichità* 17 (1933) 29-49; G. Cremaschi, 'Un manoscritto del secolo xv di Tibullo, Properzio, e Catullo' *Bergomum* 21 (1947) 18; id 'Catullo e Properzio in un codice della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo' *Aevum* 29 (1955) 88-94; Thomson n 2 (44-5)

2 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 41

Italy (Rome or Naples), s xv/xvi: copied by a single cursive hand, signed 'Fatius,' which has also annotated the ms. Paper: watermarks of 1) a column, close to Briquet 4412; 2) a Greek cross in a circle, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 210x139 (150x80) mm: ii+89+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): no apparent signs of ruling: 28 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{12}, $2\text{-}3^{14}$, 4^{12}, $5\text{-}6^{16}$, 7^{12} (-10, 11, 12): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: no initials executed: on ff 1-42 and 67r the first letter of each line is slashed with red. Modern binding of red calf, stamped with gold. 2nd f inc: Et ueniant hederae

Contents 1-79v 'Aurelii Propertii Poetae Clarissimi Monobyblos Incipit' (15 'Aurelii Propertii Poetae liber primus finit, incipit secundus ad Moecenatem Quare amores tantum scribat'; 41v 'Aurelii Propertii Liber ii finit, incipit iii ad Musas'; 61 Book 4 begins; 79v Propertius ends); 80 blank; 81-89 'Odyssea Responsio Vlixis ad penelopen per Angelum Sabinum Vatem egregium' inc: Quam tibi Naritius scribit tuus accipe coniunx

The scribe identifies himself in a colophon on f 89: 'Fatius hunc librum scripsit, nutritus in antro / Pieridum, papa tunc dominante pio.' The pope may be Pius II or Pius III. The earliest known possessor is George Louis de la Sarre, in whose catalogue it appears as no 1770 (*Bibliotheca Sarraziana* ... [the Hague 1715] 175). It belonged also to d'Orville and to the younger Burman, who cited it as his 'Dorvillianus secundus,' then to van Santen, to H.F. von Dietz, and finally to the Prussian Imperial Library.

Swoboda 1; Fischer 19 (v Hanslik); La Penna II 8-14; Richmond 162-96

3 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 52

Italy (Ferrara), s xv (1473): single notarial hand, signed by Petrus Paulus de Delaitis (who also copied, in part, Padua Bibl del Seminario 95, dated 1466). Paper: three watermarks of balance, two enclosed within a circle, one within a shield, not corresponding to anything in Briquet: 207x142 (141x75) mm:

iii+85+ii leaves (flyleaves modern except f I): ruled on verso with a dry point: 26 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{14} (-14), 2-6^{12}, 7^{14} (-1) (f I forms the first folio of the first gathering): vertical catchwords (omitted for gathering 6). No titles or initials executed, but all written small in margin. Modern binding of plain parchment, s xviii. 2nd f inc: Et sciat indociles

Contents I Addition by a hand of s xv: 'Si quot habes cerebri tot haberes pondera nummi, omni pauperior pauperiore fores.' Addition by a hand of s xvi: inc: Quator exercet certamina graecia sacra (cf *Anth Pal* 9.357 and Aus *Ecl* 16 [103 Peiper]). I-81 'Sexti Aurelii Propertii Nautae Vmbri Incipit Liber Aelegiarum uel monobiblos ad tullum' (1 'Principium propertii scripti per me petrum paulum de delaitis Notarium'; 15 'Incipit liber Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 42v 'Incipit tercius liber'; 62v 'Liber quartus incipit ad hospites'; 81 Propertius ends); 81-85v Series of poems added by a single hand, 1524 or after (81-81v 'Francisci Contrini Veronensis in laudem P. L. Cynthii Cenetensis Poetae Clarissimi' inc: Intonuit quanto strepitum nunc gallicis cepis (*sic*); 81v-82 'Ant. Thebaldaeus Italiae de obitu Thurci Magni' inc: Desine turbatos tandem lacerare capillos: 82v-83 'De Magistro et Clarissimo Leonardo Emo Fori Iulii Propraetore et illustris domus origine a Magno Hercule Iouis filio' inc: Emoniis Iouis Alcides regnauit in oris; 83v-84v 'Christophorus Diolaus ad Diuum Nicolaum Hy. octauo Idus decembris M.D. XXIIII' inc: Cum te Epiphanius ediderit cum matre Ioanna; 84v-85 'Hieronymus Cantilena Christophoro Diolao S.P.D.' inc: O mihi post aliquos nunquam memorande sodales; 85-85v 'Christophorus Diolaus Hieronymo Cantilenae S.D.' inc: Nunc Hieronyme primum destinat ira salutem)

A Ferrarese or Modenese provenance is suggested by the collection of verse on ff 81-5v, many of whose authors and addressees are known scholars and poets of the d'Este court in the first half of the sixteenth century. Like Diez B Sant 41, this copy belonged to d'Orville, Burman (who cites it as the 'Dorvillianus primus'), van Santen and Diez.

Swoboda 1; Fischer 19-20 (93 Hanslik)

4 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 53 (former Askew 408)

Italy, s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand, with additions by contemporary and later hands. Paper: watermark of a Greek cross within a circle, not sufficiently visible to permit identification: 233x165 (155x90) mm: v+91+iii leaves (f v consists of two flyleaves pasted together, the second of which is the only early flyleaf): ruled on verso with a dry point: 23 lines: pentameters indented. 1-5^{10}, 6^{12}, 7-8^{10}, 9^{10}

(-1): vertical catchwords (f 15 is blank). No titles or initials executed. Modern calf binding stamped with gold. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus.

Contents 1-91 'Propertius ad Tullum' added by a later hand (17v Book 2 begins; 48 Book 3 begins; 70 Book 4 begins; 91 'Finis')

A note on f I^{V} records that in 1539 Federicus Venantius of Spello gave the ms to Pacificus Benedictonius of Todi. It belonged to Dr Anthony Askew, was acquired by Van Santen in 1785, then by Diez; Burman cites it occasionally as the 'codex Askewianus.'

Swoboda 1; Fischer 20 (87 Hanslik); La Penna II 8-14; Richmond 162-96

5 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez B Sant 57

Italy (Ferrara: de la Mare) s xv (1481): single humanistic cursive bookhand, signed 'G.F.' Parchment: 132x80 (82x54) mm: iii+90+iii leaves (first and last flyleaves paper and modern, others early and of parchment): ruled with ink, both sides: 23 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$: no catchwords. Titles to poems in red, to books in alternating letters of red and blue. Poems begin with red or blue initials, books (also 3.16) with illuminated initials with vinestem frieze. F 1 is elaborately decorated, with a series of miniatures in a border of characteristic Ferrarese gold scroll-work with flowers: upper left corner, a lute; top centre, horse and rider; upper right, young woman with branch (?); right centre, head of a young man with cap (Propertius?) in profile, with a fawn above and a rabbit below (cf 2.19); bottom right, young woman with head and shoulders above water (Cynthia? cf 2.26); bottom centre, coat of arms (blue griffon on green shield, surmounted by crowned griffon); bottom left, Hermes Psychopompos gesturing across the page to the drowning woman; left centre, a large flower. The *C* of 'Cynthia' (1.1.1) is on a square ground of pink and blue and contains a miniature of Amor blindfolded, with bow and quiver. Title and text (as far as 'contactum') are written in gold. Modern binding, s xviii. 2nd f inc: Et uos qui sero

Contents 1-90 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Poetae Elegiarum Liber Primus Ad Tullum' 16v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus'; 46v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Tertius'; 69 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Quartus Ad Hospites'; 90 'Propertii Carmen Elegiacon Finit'); 90 'Propertii Vita' inc: Oris quoque blandi habetur ... (Sicco Polentonus *Scriptores illustres latinae linguae* ed Ullman II 63-4)

The lack of information about the early history of the codex is frustrating; the artistic quality of the decoration is high, and the text shows the influence of an able scholar.

The conjecture *Susa* for *Etrusca* (2.13.1), which Beroaldus says he found in a manuscript belonging to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, appears in this copy and two descendants; other readings cited by Beroaldus from unidentified manuscripts are also found here. In the eighteenth century the manuscript belonged to Louis César de la Beaume le Blanc, duc de la Vallière (1708-80): his shelfmark (V.2420) appears on f iii. Also belonged to van Santen and Diez; formerly bound with Diez B Sant 56 (Catullus).

Swoboda 2; Fischer 20-1 (119 Hanslik)

6 Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms lat fol 500

Italy (Naples), s xv (1460). Single humanistic bookhand, identified by Ullman as that of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, and annotated by him through the rest of his life; some further additions in a hand of s xvi. Parchment: 324x159 (223x 90) mm: i+66+i leaves: ruled with crayon on hair side: 32 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}6^{10}$, 7^{10} (-8, 9) (the present flyleaves are parts of the first and last gatherings): horizontal catchwords bottom right corner. No titles executed by copyist; flourished red or blue initials, many cut out; bottom of f 1 (perhaps with coat of arms) also cut out. No binding. 2nd f inc: Sed facies aderat

Contents 1-66v 'Aurelii Propertii Elegiarum Liber Primus' added by a hand of s xvi (12v Book 2 begins [a space of 10 lines has been left before each book]; 35 Book 3 begins; 51v Book 4 begins; 66v colophon by the scribe 'Aurelii Propertii ***** Liber IIII Finit M.CCCC.LX Martio mense Neapoli' [the word erased after 'Propertii was surely 'Nautae'])

Ullman attributed the manuscript to Pontano on the basis of a comparison with Leiden Periz Q.21 (Tacitus, Suetonius) and Wolfenbüttel Aug 82.6 (Tibullus), the former of which is signed. All three are in the same archaizing variety of Pontano's hand and all have some peculiarity of proportion, perhaps in imitation of medieval codices that he had seen. The copious annotations (except those in the sixteenth-century hand) are likewise from Pontano and provide valuable evidence for his study of the poet. Since these annotations contain references to the editions of Beroaldus (1487) and Volscus (1488), it is probable that he retained the manuscript until his death; it may have been among the books given then by his daughter Eugenia to the church of S Domenico in Naples. On f i appears a largely illegible name beginning 'Io. Franciscus de(?) Mom ... (?).' It may have belonged later to Achilles Statius, and was acquired by the Imperial Library in 1891.

Swoboda 2 (q Hanslik); B.L. Ullman 'Pontano's Handwriting and the Leiden Manuscript of Tacitus and Suetonius' *IMU* 2 (1959) 309-35 tav xxvi-xxviii

7 Bern, Burgerbibliothek 517

Italy (Padua or Rome: de la Mare), s xv (ca 1460): single cursive humanistic hand. Parchment: 211x123 (131x75) mm: i+90 leaves: ruled on both sides of the page vertically with a dry point, horizontally in ink: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$: vertical catchwords. Poems begin with rubricated titles and blue or red initials: the title and first two lines of each book are written in alternating lines of blue, red, green, and violet capitals: ff 1, 16v, 47, 69 have large illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration: coat of arms within a wreath f 1, erased. The leaves forming ff 45-6 and 85-6 are palimpsested. Original binding of tooled dark brown leather; formerly two clasps. 2nd f inc: In me nostra Venus

Contents 1-89v 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Primus Ad Tullum Qualiter Amore Cynthiae Laboret' (16v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Secundus Ad Mecaenatem'; 47 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Tertius Ad Callimachum Et Philitam Poetas'; 69 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Incipit'; 89v Propertius ends, followed by two lines now erased); 90 blank, with *probationes* and signatures

The manuscript is closely related to Vicenza G.2.8.12, of which it may be a copy, and Genoa F.VI.15. The Vicenza and Genoa copies were written by Bartolomeo Sanvito, who wrote the capitals in all three. Since the Vicenza copy is securely dated 1460, Bern 517 is probably of about the same date: these manuscripts will then be among his earliest work. A bewildering profusion of ownership notes in the manuscript, all of s xv/xvi, gives clues but not certainty concerning its early history. It belonged to Hieronymus Melinus, to Niccolò Tornabuoni (f i^{r}), Iacobo and Filippo Guadagni (f i^{v}), Alfonso Delbene (as a gift from a Lorenzo Tornabuoni, perhaps the one who died in 1494) (f 1), and Piero Salviati (f 90v), none of whom can be identified securely.

Swoboda 40 (53 Hanslik); H. Hagen *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)* (Bern 1875) 433

8 Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale 535

Italy (Naples), s xv (1475): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Antonio Sinibaldi, additions at the end in a contemporary hand. Parchment: 260x170 (166x95) mm: iv+104+ii leaves: ruled hair side with a dry point: 22 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}13^{8}$: horizontal catchwords right corner. No titles to poems executed, those to books of Propertius and

to *Her* 15 are in gold capitals, with the addition of violet on f 1 and red on f 72v: poems begin with illuminated initials on a square ground of blue, red, or green with white or yellow scroll-work: ff 1, 17v, 49, 72v, 97 have illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration forming a frieze in the margin: that on f 1 surrounds the page and is adorned with parrots, rabbits, and *putti* holding balls and musical instruments: coat of arms at bottom, identified by Ullman as belonging to the Sanseverino family of Naples. Early binding of black cloth over paperboard. 2nd f inc: Quid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-94v 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae De Amoribus Cynthiae Liber Primus' (17v 'Aurelii Propertii Liber II'; 49 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae De Amoribus Liber III'; 72v 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae De Amoribus Liber Quartus Incipit'; 94v 'Finis'); 95-6 blank; 97-102 Ps-Ovid *Her* 15 (followed by Sinibaldi's subscription 'Neapoli MCCCCLXXV Aug. Die XXX'); 102v-103r blank; 103v Additions by a fifteenth-century hand, including brief passages on avarice and astrology and Aus *Epigr* 63 (335 Peiper); 104r blank; 104v Further additions by the same hand (untitled Latin poem inc: Aspice qui exoptas nouisse humana uiator; untitled Latin poem inc: Aspice tyrreno curuatam in gurgite molem)

The last of these poems, on a harbour construction by King Ferdinand, is concluded 'Hieronymus Fortianus F(ecit),' which presumably indicates authorship; whether Fortianus also copied the poem into this manuscript is not clear (another copy of the same poem in Milan Bibl Naz Braidense A D XI 44, f 26). The earliest non-Neapolitan owner is the Cardinal Granvelle (1517-86), who served as viceroy at Naples. About 1664 it was acquired by Jean Baptiste Boisot, the abbé of St Vincent in Besançon, from whose collection it passed to the Bibliothèque Municipale. Old shelfmarks include 'H 44,' '93,' and '0.3.' The colophon on f 102 is reproduced in MD V pl clxi.

Swoboda 14 (102 Hanslik); *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départments: XXXII* I 306-8; T. de Marinis, I 83; M. Piquard, 'Les manuscrits de la famille de Granvelle à la bibliothèque de Besançon' *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* (1964) IV 1-18

9 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2740

Italy (north), s xv (second half): single slanting humanistic bookhand. Paper: watermarks of capital letters 'B' and 'N,' not identifiable with any examples in Briquet: 203x145 (150x93) mm: i+80 leaves: ruled with a dry point: 27 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$: consecutive capital letters in lower right corner in place of catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue initials. Dark brown leather binding of s xv/xvi.

Contents 1-76v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Elegiarum Incipit' with 'Ad Tullum' added by a later hand (14-14v 'Propertii Aurelii Liber I Explicit/Propertii Aurelii Liber Secundus Incipit Feliciter Ad Mecenatem'; 40 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber II Explicit: Incipit Tertius'; 59 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber III Explicit: Incipit IIII Eiusdem'; 76v 'τελοσ'); 77 blank; 78-80v (untitled = Jerome *Aduersus Iouinianum* 1.47-9) inc 'Theophrastus librum de nuptiis scripsit in quo quaerit ...' (ends at 'nihil est fedius quam uxorem amare quasi adulteram')

The shelfmark '92,' which appears inside the front cover and on the spine, apparently refers to the manuscript's residence at the chapter library of S Salvatore in Bologna, to which it was donated by one Giovanni Crisostomo Trombelli. With other S Salvatore manuscripts it was taken to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1797 and returned with them in 1815, then passed to the University Library in 1866.

Swoboda 18; Fischer 28 (61 Hanslik); L. Frati, *Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Florence 1909) 531

10 Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana A.VII.7

Italy (Ferrara?), s xv (ca 1455-60). Single humanistic bookhand with some Gothic traits. Paper: watermark of bull's head with ornaments, close to Briquet 14871 (Brescia 1434-45), 14872, and 14874 (both Brescia, ca 1450-90). 205x147 (136x84) mm: iii+222+i leaves: horizontal ruling in ink, vertical in crayon, both sides of page: 28-9 lines: pentameters not indented. 1-11^{12}, 12^{10}, 13-18^{12}, 19^{8}: horizontal catchwords lower right corner. Rubricated titles; initials planned but not executed. Plain parchment binding, s xviii. 2nd f inc: non ida (ide *vl*) et cupido

Contents 1-74 'Propertii liber primus incipit. Ad Tullum' (13v 'Sexti aurelii propertii Naute Elegiarum liber primus finit Incipit Secundus'; 38v 'Sexti aurelii propertii Naute Elegiarum ad Cynthiam amicam liber secundus finit Incipit tercius'; 57 'Sexti aurelii propertii Naute elegiarum liber tercius finit Incipit quartus et ultimus eiusdem'; 74 'Propercii liber quartus et ultimus finit'); 74-116 Catullus, followed by the verses of de Campesanis; 116-151v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 152-220v A collection of ancient and Renaissance poems, found in substantially the same form in Leiden 0.13 and Brit Libr Harley 2574 (listed in full by Cremona)

Cremona's analysis of the humanistic poetry contained in this manuscript and its two companions shows that their common exemplar probably originated in the scholarly circles of Ferrara some time in the 1450s; the manuscripts mark an

important stage in the humanistic tradition of Catullus and Propertius and perhaps of Tibullus as well. Cremona suggests that the scribe may have been a Brescian studying in Ferrara. The manuscript belonged in the eighteenth century to a Brescian priest, Cristoforo Tolani, and inside the back cover one reads the following remains of an ownership note: 'ex libris ... Brixiani ... / 1751'.

Fischer 28 (e Hanslik); A. Beltrami, *SIFC* 14 (1906) 56-66; F. Calonghi, 'Il codice bresciano di Tibullo' *Rivista di filologia* 45 (1917) 38-69, 208-39; *Catulli Codex Brixianus A.VII.7: prolegomenis instruxit, typis edendum curauit Verginius Cremona, praefatus est Ioannes Baptista Pighi* Studi Queriniani (Bologna 1954); Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 10 (44-5)

11 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er 14638

Italy (Milan), s xv (ca 1450-60 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand with gothic characteristics, signed 'Iohannes' (perhaps Gian Matteo Bottigella, the first owner). Parchment: 208x147 (125x72) mm: i+109+i leaves (flyleaves are modern and of paper): ruled in ink on hair side, sometimes flesh side as well: 29 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}9^8$, 10^{10}, $11\text{-}13^8$, 14^4 (-4): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: poems begin with blue or red flourished initials, books with illuminated initials on a square ground of red or blue with white or silver scroll-work: the initial on f 73 has a spray of leaves and flowers as well: bottom of f 1 a coat of arms (erased), surmounted by a helmet and cloak with the motto 'Sic necesse est' (which permits the identification of the first owner as Gian Matteo Bottigella, close adviser to the Visconti of Milan). Plain parchment binding, s xvii. 2nd f inc: Non yda et cupido

Contents 1-71v 'Monobliblos Propertii Aurelii naute ad Tullum Incipit' (Incepit *ac*) (13v 'Propertii Aurelii naute liber primus explicit Secundus Incipit feliciter'; 37v 'Propertii Aurelii naute liber secundus explicit Tertius incipit lege feliciter'; 55 'Propertii Aurelii nautae liber tercius explicit Quartus et ultimus incipit feliciter'; 71v 'Vale. Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Feliciter Explicit uel Liber Elegiarum Propertii Finit. Deo Gratias. Amen'); 72 blank; 73-108v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*, then subscription 'Iohannes Scripsit'

The Brussels Propertius (designated b in the discussion above) is the oldest and most reliable member of a group of manuscripts conflated from Panormita's copy (Vat lat 3273) and Bodley Holkham Misc 36 (L); it can serve as a source for the readings of L from 2.1.64 to 2.21.2.

Swoboda 1 (ν Hanslik); P. Thomas, *Catalogue des manuscrits de classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles*

(Gand 1896) 88; Ferguson 17-21; La Penna II 5-7; Richmond 162-96; E. Pellegrin, 'Bibliothèques d'humanistes lombards' *Bibliotheque d'humanisme et renaissance* 17 (1955) 229-35

12 Cambridge, University Library Add 3394 (former Phillipps 18832)

Italy (probably Ferrara), s xv (ca 1425-50 de la Mare). Single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 191x130 (150x75) mm: i+74+i leaves (flyleaves are modern and of paper; two folia have been lost from the last gathering): ruled with a dry point on verso, with double vertical bounding lines: 27 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{6} (-5, 6): horizontal catchwords lower right corner; consecutive capital letters have been added on the first verso of each gathering. Rubricated titles. Poems begin with illuminated initials on square blue ground with white dots, books with illuminated initials with vine-stem decoration on a blue ground: f 1 also has a gold bar in left and top margins with further vine-stem decoration and a child's (?) head top centre. Modern binding of paperboard, s xix. 2nd f inc: Non sic leucippis

Contents 1-74v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobiblos Ad Tullum Incipit Foeliciter' (14 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber I Explicit Incipit II Ad Moecenatem'; 39v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Explicit Incipit Tertius Foeliciter'; 57-57v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber III Finit / Incipit IIII Foeliciter'; 74v text ends at 4.11.69 due to loss of last two folia)

Dr de la Mare suggests that the manuscript is probably not Florentine, but might be Roman or Ferrarese. The latter is more plausible, since it is related to Florence BN Magl VII 1053 (dated 1443), which is said to have belonged to Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. It may derive from a copy of Panormita's manuscript (Vat lat 3273) which belonged to Aurispa. Its modern history begins with its acquisition by Phillipps, from whose collection it was purchased by the University.

Swoboda 9 (δ Hanslik); La Penna II 8-14; Richmond 162-96

13 Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine 361

Italy (Venice?), s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand, with annotations in Propertius (derived from Tortelli's *De orthographia*) added by a cursive hand, perhaps that of the early owner Marco Donato. Paper: single watermark of crossed arrows, similar to Briquet 6269 (Venice 1454): 291x219 (200x90) mm: i+144+i leaves (the modern foliation, followed below, numbers to 142, omitting the real ff 85 and 144): ruled on verso with a dry point: 30 lines: pentameters indented (but not in Catullus). $1\text{-}14^{10}$, 15^{4}: instead of catchwords, there is a series of capital letters at the end and beginning of

each gathering, so that, eg, a '.D.' appears at the end of the fourth gathering and beginning of the fifth (exception: the second begins with '.B.' instead of '.A.'). Some rubricated titles executed in Propertius and Catullus, none in Tibullus: poems begin with simple rubricated initials: on f 1 an unadorned gold initial for Catullus: Propertius and Tibullus (ff 41, 74) begin with blue and red flourished initials. Original binding of wooden boards; formerly two clasps. 2nd f inc: Loquente saepe

Contents 1-39v Catullus, followed by verses of de Campesanis; 40 blank; 41-73v Tibullus; 74-141 'Titi propertii nautae elegiarum liber primus incipit Ad Cynthiam' (85 'Propertii Aurelii L. I explicit Incipit Secundus Ad Mecaenatem'; 108 'Propertii Aurelii L. II Explicit Incipit Tertius Ad Musas'; 125 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber III Explicit Incipit Quartus De Vrbe Roma'; 141 'Finis'); 141v-142 Maffeo Vegio against Panormita's *Hermaphroditus* lines 1-30 inc: Plaudite lenones mertrices plaudite uester; 142v-143 blank

The difference in decoration between Catullus on the one hand and Propertius and Tibullus on the other suggests that this may originally have been two separate manuscripts, though bound together at an early date. An early, perhaps the first, owner was Marco Donato ('iurisconsultus patricius uenetus'), who has left his name on the verso of the back flyleaf. Orations by him appear in Vat lat 5197 and Venice BN Marciana XI 59 (4152); several works dedicated to him are listed in Cosenza II 256.

(97 Hanslik); *Catalogue gēnēral des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Dēpartements: XXXIV* I 122-3; Zicāri 79-99; Thomson n 12 (44-5)

14 Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana Cod Bod 141 (former Abbey 5989)

Italy (Florence), s xv (1466): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Johannes Petrus of Spoleto, a very few later additions in the hand of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano. Parchment: 232x147 (148x78) mm: i+80+i leaves: ruled with a hard point: 26 lines: pentameters indented. 1^4, $2\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^6: no visible catchwords. Rubricated titles and simple initials to poems. Each book begins with an illuminated initial with white vine-stem decoration; that on f 1 extends into a border occupying three sides of the page. Original binding of stamped brown leather. 2nd f inc: Crede mihi non

Contents 1-80 'Incipit Monobiblos Elegiarum Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Ad Tullum' (14 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Primus Explicit. Eiusdem incipit Liber secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 41v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Explicit. Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Incipit'; 62

'Explicit Liber Tertius. Incipit Quartus'; 80v 'Finit. Scriptus florentiae a Io. petro de spoleto /de mense maii 1466')

The scribe is perhaps the Iohannes de Spoleto who copied Bologna BU 2619, which I have not seen (*Colophons* n 11507). The manuscript is an equal descendant with Paris BN lat 8233 and Bibl Vat Urb lat 641 of a single copy of a medieval codex that belonged to Poggio. Alexander has identified Antonello Petrucci, secretary to King Ferrante of Naples, as the probable first (or at least earliest known) possessor. On ff 5 and 7 are recorded three conjectures of Pontano (known as such from his own manuscript) apparently in his own hand; he may have annotated the book as a favour to Petrucci or to the king after the execution of Petrucci and confiscation of his library in 1487. In modern times it was sold by Sotheby's 17 December 1952 (lot 412) from the collection of E.H.W. Meyerstein, then acquired by Major Abbey 11 April 1953. It was again sold by Sotheby's 1 December 1970 (lot 2884) to a London bookseller, than acquired by the Fondation Martin Bodmer.

Alexander and de la Mare 44-5 and pl XVII; É. Pellegrin *Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana* Bibliotheca Bodmeriana Catalogues V (Cologny-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer 1982) 340-1

15 Deventer, Athenaeum- of Stadsbibliotheek I 82 (former 1792; 11 D 4)

Italy (Padua) s xv (ca 1460); single humanistic bookhand (perhaps attributable to Bartolomeo Sanvito, according to Dr de la Mare); some variants added by a hand of s xvii/xviii. Parchment: 268x157 (198x90) mm: 67 leaves (the first f has been removed; two early parchment flyleaves are pasted down inside the binding): ruled on verso with a dry point: 31 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10} (-1), $2\text{-}6^{10}$, 7^{10} (-9, 10): vertical catchwords lower right corner. All titles executed in alternating capitals of blue, red, green, and violet, ending with a leaf: the first line of each book is also written in alternating coloured capitals: the first word or two of each poem is written in capitals of a single colour: each poem begins with an illuminated initial on a square ground of red, blue, or yellow with triads of white or yellow dots: each book begins with a large coloured initial with plant-like ornamentation on a square gold ground (except interlace work in the initial for Book 4). The sumptuously decorated title page has been removed, but traces are still visible on the flyleaf inside the front cover: it had an illuminated initial with interlace work and an architectural frame surrounding the entire page, while at the bottom figures of a man and a woman (Propertius and Cynthia?) flanked a panel of plant-like decoration containing a wreath with a coat of arms (which seems

to have consisted of a single diagonal band across a solid ground). Leather binding of s xvi (restored in the last century), stamped and with elaborate brass plates and clasps. 2nd f (= f 1) inc: Et uolucres

Contents 1-67v Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.2.14 (12 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 35 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Incipit'; 52 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Quartus Incipit Ad Hospites'; 67v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Vmbri Monobiblos Liber Feliciter Explicit')

No details are known of the early history of the manuscript, but a Paduan provenance and the approximate date are guaranteed by both script and decoration. It belonged to the younger Burman, who occasionally cited its readings. Baehrens used it for his edition of 1880, but mistakenly dated it ca 1410-20; his theory that this copy and Ottob lat 1514 form an independent, uninterpolated branch of the tradition is likewise mistaken. One folio is reproduced in Enk's ed of Book 2.

Swoboda 35; A.E. Housman 'The Manuscripts of Propertius' *JP* 21 (1893) 101-60 (= *Classical Papers* ed Diggle and Goodyear I 232-76); Postgate 60-3; P.J. Enk 'De codicibus Propertianis Daventriensi (D) et Ottoboniano-Vaticano (V)' *Mnem* s IV 2 (1949) 157-69; La Penna I 199-237

16 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dc 133

Italy (Milan or Pavia), s xv (ca 1470-80): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 225x160 (140x90) mm: 206 leaves (the modern foliation numbers only every tenth page and skips three folios): ruled with a dry point: 21 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}19^{10}$, $20\text{-}21^{8}$: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles, sometimes in contrasting colours: poems begin with small blue or gold initials, books with illuminated initials on rhomboidal gold grounds with broad vine-stem decoration terminating at the four corners in acanthus leaves, with penwork tendrils ending in gold discs. Stamped leather binding dated 1540, decorated with biblical motifs; two clasps still extant; spine stamped with initials of Wolfgang Dietrich von Werthern.

Contents 1-56v Catullus; 57-155r 'Sex. Propertii umbri poete suauissimi elegiarum liber primus incipit feliciter Ad Tullum' (74v 'Sex.Propertii umbri elegiarum liber primus finitur Incipit earundem liber II Ad Mecoenatem'; 108 'Sex. Propertii liber secundus finitur Incipit eiusdem liber tertius Ad calimachum et Philiten ueteres elegiographos'; 132v 'Sex. Aurelii propertii naute elegiarum liber tertius finitur Incipit eiusdem liber quartus et ultimus'; 155r 'Sex. Aurelii Propertii liber quartus et ultimus finitur'); 155v-203v Tibullus

The Dresden copy belongs with Grenoble 549 and Milan Ambros I 67 sup to a group of Milanese manuscripts of ca 1470-80 that show acquaintance with the codex Neapolitanus. The same scribe copied Bibl Vat Ottob Lat 1529 (Justin); cf *Scriptorum* 10 (1956) pl 32. The earliest known possessor is the jurist Jason Mainus (1435-1519). Born in Pesaro, he taught in Pavia 1471-86, where he acquired the manuscript in 1479 (note on f 200v; his arms have also been added to f 1). Wolfgang von Werthern obtained the manuscript during his Italian travels of 1539-43; his library was bought by Christian I, Elector of Saxony, in 1588. The manuscript has since remained in Dresden, except that it was taken to the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War, then returned in 1958.

Swoboda 2-3 (114 Hanslik); F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden* (Leipzig 1882) I 319; Zicāri 79-99; Thomson n 15 (46-7)

17 Dublin, Trinity College Library 929 (former K.2.37; Phillipps 9590)

Italy, s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 220x155 (150 x irregular) mm: ii+264+ii pages (modern pagination, not foliation): ruled with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{12}, $9\text{-}13^{10}$: vertical catchwords. Simple blue or red initials: rubricated titles. Binding of brown calf, s xix. 2nd p inc: Nudus amor formae

Contents pp 1-164 'Propertii Vmbri Meuani Poetae Elegiographi Disertissimi Incipit Liber Primus Ad Tullum'; (p 31 'Incipit Secundus liber'; p 85 'Liber Tertius'; p 126 'Incipit liber quartus'; p 164 'Finis'); pp 165-258 Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; pp 259-264 blank

Purchased by the library in March 1895.

(78 Hanslik); T.K. Abbot *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin 1900) 159; Thomson n 16 (47-7)

18 El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial ç.iv.22

(Originally two separate manuscripts, ff 1-168 and 169-220.) Italy (northeast?), s xv (ca 1450-60?): single humanistic bookhand in first part ($1\text{-}168^{v}$) which has also collated the text of Propertius against another source (perhaps Wolfenbüttel Helm 338); second part ($169\text{-}216^{v}$) copied in a cursive hand. Paper: watermark in first part of crossed arrows, close to Briquet 6269 (Venice 1454); in second part, 1) five-pointed star, 2) basilisk, 3) crossed spears, none sufficiently visible to allow identification. 190x131 (145x70 ff 1-84; 150x90

ff 85-167; 138x90 ff 169-216) mm: ii+220+i (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point throughout on verso: 26 lines ff 1-84, 27 ff 85-167, 24 ff 169-216: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}14^{12}$, $15\text{-}18^{10}$, 19^{10} (-10): no catchwords ff 1-167, vertical catchwords ff 169-216. Rubricated titles throughout; simple red initials, not all executed. Modern calf binding, s xviii/xix. 2nd f inc: Hoc mihi contingat

Contents 1-39r Tibullus, followed by epitaph and *Vita*; 39v-84 Catullus, followed by *ll*.1-2 of verses of de Campesanis; 84v blank; 85-160v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Feliciter Incipit' (98v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Moecenatem'; 124 Book 3 begins without title; 143 'Explicit Liber Tertius, Incipit Quartus'; 160v 'Finis'); 161-165 Ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 165-165v untitled Latin poem inc: ( )idia bella puella candida (Walther 10534); 165v-167v untitled Latin poem inc: ( )st locus in primo felix oriente remotus (Lactantius *De phoenice* 1-126); 168-168v blank; 169-216v Catullus (116.8 has been copied only as far as *nostris*); 216v Ovid *Am* 3.15.7-8; 217 blank

This manuscript served as exemplar to Naples BN IV.F.21, whose copyist on ff 161 and 163v has added four lines (16-17; 129-30) to *Her* 15 omitted by this scribe. The physical differences in the first part between Tibullus and Catullus on the one hand and Propertius on the other suggest that the two sections were first copied separately; the addition of part 2 (ff 169-220) will have come still later. On f 1 are the initials 'g.I.' and the early shelfmark '22'; earlier Escorial shelfmarks (v.A.5; v.C.4) appear on f ii^{v}.

Swoboda 40 (h Hanslik); Antolín I 314-15, V 442; M. Zicàri 'Il Catullo di Guarnerio d'Artegna' *IMU* 2 (1959) 453-65 (456 note 3); Thomson n 18 and 19 (46-7)

19 El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo g.iii.12

Italy, s xv (Rome 1450-75 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand, annotated by two other hands, one of which sometimes makes fanciful patterns (as on f 2, where one note, intentionally or not, resembles a crouching feline with curled tail). Parchment: 231x158 (173x95) mm: ii+73 (flyleaves modern, of paper): ruled horizontally with crayon, both sides: double left bounding line done both sides with a dry point: 28 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}8^{8}$, 9^{10} (-10): horizontal catchwords lower right corner. Rubricated titles: poems begin with simple blue initials (none executed in Book 4), books with illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration on ground of red and green, edged with blue, terminating in gold discs: sketches of birds, hands, etc in margins. Modern calf binding s xviii/xix. 2nd f inc: Non sic leucippis

Contents 1-73v 'Propertii Vmbrii Meuanii Poetae Elegiographi Clarissimi Incipit Liber Primus Ad Tullum' (12v 'Explicit Liber Primus Incipit Secundus'; 37v 'Liber Tertius'; 56 'Liber Quartus'; 73 'Finis. Deo Gratias. Amen')

An erased possessor's note on f 73v may be that of Don Antonio Agustín, archbishop of Tarragona (died 1586): his shelfmark '503' appears on f 1. Earlier Escorial shelfmarks (iii.A. 20; iv.L.19) on f iiv.

Swoboda 41 (79 Hanslik); Antolín II 266, V 259 and 442

20 El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo s.iii.22

Italy (Naples?), s xv (1481 or after): single, strongly individual humanistic cursive hand perhaps attributable to Pietro Summonte. Paper: watermark of a bird within a circle, identifiable with Briquet 12202 (Rome 1479-80): 205x130 (150x100) mm: ii+143+ii leaves (flyleaves modern; the modern foliation, followed here, begins with the text of Tibullus and so numbers 140 leaves preceded by 5 flyleaves): no visible signs of ruling: 23 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}17^{8}$, 18^{8} (-7): no early catchwords, but a later hand has added them on every eighth folio. Titles in black ink, but a liberal use has been made of red for open or hollow initials, to slash capitals, to number the poems within each author's work, and for a separate foliation within each author. Modern binding of red calf, s xviii/xix.

Contents i^{v}- ii^{v} Life of Tibullus inc: Albius Tibullus Eques Romanus natus est ea tempestate (according to Calonghi below, an adaptation of Life by Bernardino Cillenio); iii blank; 1-45 Tibullus; 46 untitled Latin poem (printed by Antolín); 46v-47v blank; 47v-48r Life of Propertius inc: Oris quoque blandi habetur (adapted from *Scriptores illustres latinae linguae* of Sicco Polentonus); 48v-139 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Meuanii Poetae clarissimi Elegiarum Liber Primus Ad Tullum' (65 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Secundus Ad Mecaenatem'; 95v 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Meuanii Elegiarum Liber Tertius'; 118 'Liber Quartus'; 139 'Finis' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4 and Propertius 1.7.24); 139v blank; 140r untitled Latin poem (printed by Antolín) inc: Infelix eadem nobis fortuna manebat; 140v blank

The text of Propertius has been taken from the Vicenza edition of 1481. The scribe is probably not the 'Aemilius' of the poems on ff 46 and 140. The first of these states that the book was copied when he was twenty-three, during an unhappy period (in Antolín's text of the second read 'saepe' for 'sepe' in 1.10 and note that in 1.2 'calamos' and 'meos' are written *in rasura*); the author is perhaps the Aemilius Buccabella of the Roman Academy. The hand appears to be the same as that in a copy of Pontano's prose works attributed to Summonte (cf chapter 9 note 7). The manuscript came to the

Escorial from the library of D. Gaspar de Guzman, Conde-Duque de Olivares, whose shelfmark (ii.N.12) appears on f i^r.

Swoboda 41; Antolín IV 72-3, V 298; F. Calonghi 'Un codice tibulliano della Real Biblioteca dell'Escorial' *Historia* 1930 (294-312)

21 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.33,11

Italy (Florence), s xv (1472 or after). Single humanistic bookhand, attributable to the Florentine scholar Bartolomeo Fonzio (also called Fontius or della Fonte). Parchment: 274x 182 (195x95) mm: iv+173+iv leaves (of the flyleaves only f iv is parchment and early): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{8}, $6\text{-}13^{10}$, 14^{4}, $15\text{-}18^{10}$, 19^{2} (-2): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles. Each poem begins with a blue initial, with the first word or two written in alternating letters of red and black: each book of Tibullus and Propertius (except the first) starts with an undecorated gold initial: each author begins with an illuminated initial with white vine-stem decoration, while that on f 1 is extended into a frieze covering three sides of the page with vine-stem work laden with *putti*, birds, and a dog: at the bottom, two *putti* support a wreath with the arms of the Sassetti family (the decoration of f 1 is attributed by de la Mare below to Antonio di Niccolõ di Lorenzo). Bound in the standard Laurenziana binding with chain and clasps still extant. 2nd f inc: Tua nunc opera

Contents 1-48 Catullus; 48v blank; 49-131v 'Propertii Vmbri Meuani Poetae Clarissimi Liber Primus' (63v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Ad Moecenatem'; 91v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius'; 112 'Liber Quartus'; 131v 'Finis Propertii'); 132 blank; 133-173 Tibullus

The text of Propertius has been copied from the de Spira edition of 1472. The scholar and editor Bartolomeo Fonzio (1445-1513) copied a number of manuscripts for Francesco Sassetti (1420-91), a close associate of the Medici family. Sassetti's heirs handed over his manuscripts to Lorenzo de' Medici, probably in payment of debts, in 1491, but Fonzio recovered them for the heirs in 1497 or 1498. The present book is identifiable as number 564 in a 1495 Medici inventory of manuscripts destined for San Marco.

Swoboda 19 (95 Hanslik); Bandini II c.99; A.C. de la Mare 'The Library of Francesco Sassetti' in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of P.O. Kristeller* (New York 1976) 160-201; Thomson n 20 (46-7)

22 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.33,14

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1450-60 de la Mare): single humanistic cursive hand (signed on a parchment pastedown inside back cover by Antonio Giuliani: 'Iste liber ... est

mei antonii Iuliani manu propria scriptus'). Paper, various watermarks, 1) flower, close to Briquet 6655; 2) hat, similar to Briquet 3373 (Florence 1474, 1483); 3) three hills; 4) a second hat, similar to Briquet 3370 (Florence 1456-67); 5) ladder, similar to Briquet 5911 (Siena 1476-94): 212x141 (140x80) mm: i+122+i leaves: ruled on recto with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}11^{10}$, 12^{12}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles (a few not executed): simple blue initials for poems: f 1 has an illuminated initial with white vine-stem decoration forming a small frieze, f 83 an initial on a square ground of green and pink. Standard Laurenziana binding, clasps still extant. 2nd f inc: Et ueniant edere

Contents 1-82v Propertius beginning without title (later title added by a seventeenth-century hand) (15 'Propertii Aurelii nautae liber hic Finis: Eiusdem secundi hoc Initium est'; 43 'Propertii Aurelii naute Secundi libri hic finis, eiusdem Tertii hoc est Initium'; 63v 'Propertii Aurelii naute Tertii libri hic finis, eiusdem Quarti hoc Initium'; 82v 'τελωσ: Propertii Aurelii naute Quarti et Ultimi finis hic,' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4); 83-122 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*

The text of Propertius derives closely from Salutati's copy (Laur pl.36,49).

Swoboda 19; Fischer 28-9 (θ Hanslik); Bandini II c.100-1

23 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.33,15

Italy (Florence), s xv (second half): single cursive humanistic hand. Paper: watermarks of 1) three hills topped by a crescent, close to Briquet 11735 (Florence 1468) and 2) flower on a stalk, same type as Briquet 6340. 209x139 (150x70) mm: i+154 leaves: ruled with a dry point on verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 20 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{12}$, $8\text{-}9^{16}$, 10^{10}, 11^{16}, 12^{10}, 13^{2}: vertical catchwords. Initials planned but not executed; rubricated titles planned, executed only ff 103-52. Standard Laurenziana binding, clasps extant. 2nd f inc: ( )uid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-102 Propertius, without title ('Propertius' and 'Ad Cynthiam' added by different later hands) (19 Book 2 begins; 53v Book 3 begins; 78v Book 4 begins; 102 'τέλωσ· καλοσ εχη'); 102v blank; 103-152v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph; 153-154 blank

Dr de la Mare has informed me that the same scribe copied Florence Bibl Naz Conv Sopp J IV 5 and J IX 8, both for Giorgio Antonio Vespucci; she also suggests that the script might be a cursive version of the hand of G.F. Marzi.

Swoboda 19 (130 Hanslik); Bandini II c.101

24 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.36,49

Italy (Padua), s xiv (about 1380): single Gothic bookhand: annotated by three hands, the earlier two belonging to Lombardo della Seta and Coluccio Salutati, the third to an unknown scholar of ca 1450. Parchment: 251x162 (170x85) mm: ii+73+ii (first and last flyleaves modern and of paper): ruled with pencil both sides of page: 35 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}6^{10}$, 7^{14} (-14): catchwords at bottom centre, with a point at either side. Rubricated titles: flourished initials of red or blue (larger ones for books). Standard Laurenziana binding, with clasps and chain still extant. 2nd f inc: Pollucem cultu

Contents 1-73v 'Incipit monobiblos propertii aurelii naute ad Tullum heroys prima' (13v 'Liber primus explicit. Incipit secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 38v 'Liber secundus explicit. Incipit liber tertius'; 56v 'Explicit liber tertius. Incipit quartus'; 73v 'Explicit Liber propertii Vltimus')

B.L. Ullman showed that this manuscript (F) descends from Leiden 0.38 (A) through a lost copy that belonged to Petrarch and that it preserves some of his notes and conjectures. Salutati (whose ex-libris appears on f 73v, with a characteristic summation of pages - 77 Carte 73 - on f 1), hearing of a Propertius in Petrarch's library, began about 1374 his efforts to obtain it or a copy of it, and seems from his correspondence to have received it about 1380. The copying was done in or near Padua, where Lombardo della Seta, the friend of Petrarch, corrected F against the exemplar (his annotations, cited as F2, preserve notes and corrections of Petrarch ignored by the scribe). Salutati contributed some conjectures of his own (F3). After Salutati's death in 1406, F came into the possession of the Medici family; the ex-libris of Cosimo di Giovanni appears after Salutati's on f 73v. At about mid-century occurred the last phase of correction (F4), derived from a manuscript related to Parma 140. F was first used as a witness to the text by Baehrens (1880); the corrections of the various hands were first distinguished methodically by Ullman's pupil A.C. Ferguson.

Swoboda 19-20; Bandini II c.246; Ullman 282-301; id *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padua 1963)

25 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.38,36

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1450-60 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 221x165 (150x85) mm: iii+116+i leaves (all flyleaves are modern): ruled in ink, both sides of page: 26 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{10} (-4, 5, 6, 7), $10\text{-}12^{10}$ (the two central bifolia of gathering 9

contained Propertius 3.3.43-3.8.9): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple red or blue initials for poems: on ff 1 and 41 illuminated initials with vine-stem decoration which forms a small frieze in the margin: the bottom of f 1, which contained a vine-stem frieze and perhaps a coat of arms, has been cut away. Standard Laurenziana binding, chain and clasps still extant. 2nd f inc: Hoc mihi contingat

Contents 1-39v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 39v-40v ps-Ovid *De lombardo et lumaca*; 41-116 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Incipit Feliciter Ad Tullum De Sua Cinthia' (55 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Primus Explicit. Incipit Secundus Ad Mecenatem Quod Sola Cinthia Vires Et Ingenium Dat'; 81v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Liber Tertius Incipit'; 97 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Liber Quartus Incipit Feliciter'; 116 'Vale. Explicit'); 116 ps-Ovid *De pulice*

Dr de la Mare has kindly informed me of other manuscripts written by the same scribe, including Laur pl.65,32, dated 1458, a dedication copy for Piero de' Medici of a Latin translation of Plutarch's *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. The present volume, however, is not likely to have belonged to Piero, since two surviving inventories of his library, dated 1456 and 1464, list only a single volume containing Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius in that order, and pl.38,36 probably did not begin with Catullus if there was a coat of arms at the bottom of the present f 1.

(85 Hanslik); Bandini II c.278; and, for the Medici inventories, E. Müntz *Les Collections des Medicis au XV^e siècle* (Paris 1888) 45 and A. Piccolomini 'Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della libreria medicea privata' *Archivio storico italiano* ser III 21 (1875) 106-12

26 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.38,37

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460-70 de la Mare): two humanistic bookhands, of which the first copied ff 1-61 (1.1.1-4.1.52), the second ff 62-79 (4.1.53 *ad fin*). Paper: three varieties of hat watermark (Briquet 3369-3408), none sufficiently close for identification: 199x139 (150x80) mm: ii+80+i leaves (of the flyleaves only f ii is early): ruled both sides of page with crayon: 26 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$: no catchwords except f 70v (vertical). No titles executed: poems begin with simple blue initials: f 1 has an illuminated initial with white vine-stem decoration embellished with penwork and gold discs: wreath at bottom of f 1 for coat of arms, not executed. Standard Laurenziana binding, with clasps and chain still extant. 2nd f inc: Et uolucres nulla

Contents 1-79 Propertius begins, without title (14v Book 2 begins; 41v Book 3 begins; 61 Book 4 begins; 79 Propertius ends); 79v-80 blank

Swoboda 21 (z Hanslik); Bandini II c.278; Richmond 162-96; La Penna II 8-14

27 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana pl.91 sup 24

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460-70 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand attributable to Giorgio Antonio Vespucci. Parchment: 173x122 (110x70) mm: i+86 leaves (the modern foliation, followed here, begins with the first flyleaf): ruled with ink, both sides of page: 24 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{6}, $2\text{-}9^{10}$: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue initials for poems: ff 2 and 17 illuminated initials with modest vine-stem decoration, adorned with scroll-work and gold discs: f 1 also has a frieze of vine-stem decoration at bottom intended for a coat of arms (not executed). Original binding (partially restored) of tooled brown leather. 2nd f inc: Aspice quos

Contents 2-86v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute monobiblos elegiarum liber incipit. Ad Tullum' (17 'Liber Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 45v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Tertius foeliciter incipit'; 67 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Quartus Incipit'; 86v 'θῶ δόξα / Deo gloria'); 87 blank

For Vespucci's script see de la Mare *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I 1; the subscription θεῷ δόξα is fairly common in his books. His Propertius is a direct copy of Laur Acq e doni 124, which belonged to Francesco da Castiglione, and is probably the exemplar of Rome Bibl Corsiniana 43.D.36. According to a note on f 86v, the manuscript belonged about 1500 to Guidantonio Adimari, who is known to have owned at least one other book that previously belonged to Vespucci (*Handwriting* 131 note 75); it was presented to the Laurenziana in 1755 by the Emperor Francis I (who had become grand duke of Tuscany in 1737).

Swoboda 21; Fischer 29 (66 Hanslik); Bandini III c.759-60

28 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Acquisti e doni 124

Italy (Florence), s xv (1463 or before): two humanistic bookhands, of which the first copied ff 3-60 (1.1.1-3.9.54), the second ff 61-100 (3.9.55 *ad fin*), with corrections by a third. Parchment: 161x116 (120x87 ff 3-60; 122x80 ff 61-100) mm: iii+98+i leaves (only ff ii and iii are parchment and early; the modern foliation, followed here, begins with the first early flyleaf): first part ruled on flesh side with a dry point, the second on both sides in ink: 21 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}5^{12}$, $6\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{8}: catchwords at bottom centre in first, corner in second part. Rubricated titles: no initials executed. Modern binding of brown parchment, s xviii. 2nd f inc: Et tenues choa

Contents 3-100 'Incipit Monobiblos Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Tullum' (20 'Liber Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 53 'Finit Liber Secundus, Incipit Tertius'; 77v 'Explicit Liber Tertius, Incipit Quartus'; 100v 'Laus deo')

The approximate date of the manuscript comes from the ownership note on f 2 of Francesco da Castiglione (professor of Greek at the Florentine Studio from 1446 until at least 1451). The two scribes copied different exemplars, and the double source is reflected in a small group of manuscripts descended from this one, Laur pl.91 sup 24, Vienna 224, Corsiniana Rossi 43.D.36, and the copy that formerly belonged to the duke of Wellington (number 142 below). The manuscript was acquired in 1815 from the bookseller G.B. Paperini; earlier shelfmark 'Acquisti 52.'

Swoboda 21; Fischer 30 (y Hanslik)

29 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana San Marco 690

(This manuscript was palimpsested in the fifteenth century and recopied with Greek patristic texts; the following description concerns only its original state, so far as it can be determined.) Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1400-5): single humanistic bookhand attributable to Poggio Bracciolini. Parchment: 250x155 (169x95) mm: ii+81+i leaves (flyleaves are modern and paper except f ii): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}5^{10}$, 6^{8}, $7\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{4} (-4): horizontal catchwords bottom centre. Initials planned but not executed: there seem to have been at least some rubricated titles. Modern binding with leather spine retained from an earlier binding. 2nd f inc: Aspice quos summittat

Contents 1-80 Propertius (15 Book 2 begins; 43 Book 3 begins; 61v Book 4 begins; 80v 'Deo gratias amen' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4 and Propertius 1.7.24); 81 blank

The Greek texts (Eusebius *Contra Hieroclem*; Philostratus *Vita Apollonii*; Athenagoras *De resurrectione mortuorum*; Justin *Contra gentiles graecos*) end in time for one to read something of the text from 4.2.24 to the end. This is sufficient to reveal, as Hosius first realized, that the manuscript is a direct copy of Salutati's Propertius (Laur pl.36,49). It belonged to Niccoli; a fragment of the note of donation to San Marco is still visible on the flyleaf. The attribution to Poggio is based on comparison with three other San Marco manuscripts from Niccoli's collection, which are accepted by Dr de la Mare as the work of Poggio from the years 1400-5: S Marco 230 (Plautus), 262 (Cicero *De oratore*), and 665 (Augustine). The present manuscript conforms to Poggio's early practice in ruling, catchwords, etc.

Swoboda 21; Fischer 30 (60 Hanslik); P. Stadter and B.L. Ullman *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua 1972) 87 and 234

30 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magliabecchi VII 1053

Italy (Ferrara?), s xv (1443): single humanistic bookhand (perhaps attributable to Tito Vespasiano Strozzi), annotated by a later hand that has added the *argumenta* of Calderini. Parchment: 244x152 (180x100) mm: iii+110+ii leaves (the first and last flyleaves are modern and of paper): ruled with a dry point on hair side: 28 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}11^{10}$: horizontal catchwords. A few rubricated titles in Tibullus, none in Propertius: initials of blue or gold alternate (larger gold initials for books). Original binding of tooled brown leather. 2nd f inc: Pollucem cultu

Contents 1-74v Propertius (14 Book 2 begins; 39 Book 3 begins; 57 Book 4 begins; 74v Propertius ends); 75-110v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*

The manuscript is dated at the end of the Tibullus. According to an early note on f i^{v} it once belonged to the Ferrarese poet Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1424-1505); a complex coat of arms sketched on the same folio contains, among other emblems, the three crescents of the Strozzi arms. The Propertius descends from the same source as Genoa Bibl Univ E.III.29, perhaps a copy belonging to Aurispa. An early shelfmark (603) appears on f ii^{r}; formerly Strozzi 4° n 25.

Swoboda 22; Fischer 30-1 (a Hanslik); A. Galante 'Index codicum classicorum latinorum qui Florentiae in Bybliotheca Magliabecchiana adservantur' *SIFC* 10 (1902) 351-2

31 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magliabecchi VII 1162

Italy (Anghiari, near Arezzo), s xv (1463): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Piero Compagni. Paper: various watermarks, 1) cross surmounted by a flower, not in Briquet; 2) three hills; 3) a flower, close to Briquet 6655 (var Pisa 1464-9, Perugia 1456 and 1458); 4) a flower, close to Briquet 6654 (Rome 1452-3); 5) a hat, similar to Briquet 3370 (Florence 1456-7); 6) scissors, close to Briquet 3668 (Rome 1454); 214x138 (145x80) mm: i+138+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point on verso in first, on recto in second half of gathering: 20 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}10^{10}$, 11^{8}, 12^{12}, 13^{8}: horizontal catchwords bottom centre or right corner. No titles executed in Propertius: poems begin with simple blue initials (red f 33v): f 1 a gold wash *C* on a square ground of pink and green. Original binding of tooled brown leather; formerly two clasps. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-90 Propertius begins ('Propertius' added by hand of s xvi) (17v Book 2 begins; 47 Book 3 begins; 69 Book 4 begins; 90 'τελοσ. Explicit liber propertii scriptus per me petrum Companium dum eram in opido anglarii anno domini Mcccclxiii. Deo Gratias'); 90v blank; 91-116v 'L. Aretini

opusculum de laudibus florentiae Vrbis foeliciter incipit' inc: Vellem mihi a deo immortali datum esset (L. Bruni *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis*; cf H. Baron *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* [Chicago 1968]); 117-118 blank; 119-129 anonymous philosophical prose work inc: Philippo bartholomeo comiti S.D. Scribis audiuisse a nonnullis qui hinc quotidie ad te ueniunt ... (dated Florence, 24 April 1458); 130 blank; 131-136 anonymous humanistic verses (131-132 [to Francesco Sforza of Milan] inc: Sanctus apud multas dux inuictissime gentes [Walther 17248]; 132-133 [to Giovanni Tortelli on the death of one Quintus] inc: Nunc ego tortelli uir prudentissime priscos [Walther 12441]; 133-135 [untitled] inc: Vivebam liber turba tranquillus ab omni [Walther 20731]; 135-136 [an appeal for the end of wars in Italy] inc: Barbara gens italos uenit euersura penates [Walther 2069]; 136-136v [untitled] inc: Diua drias nemoris, Nereis alti, Napea montis [Walther 4597]; 136v (untitled = *Priapea* 22) inc: Femina si furtum faciet mihi uirque puerque; 137-138 blank

Compagni, a scholar who had been a pupil of M. Ficino, also copied Laur Ashb 1703 (misc), dated 1471; some Italian verses by him are found in Parma Bibl Pal 286. Formerly Strozzi 4° 640.

Swoboda 22; Fischer 31 (x Hanslik); Galante *SIFC* 15 (1907) 134

32 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magliabecchi VII 1164

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460 de la Mare): single humanistic cursive hand. Paper: various watermarks, 1) ladder, similar to Briquet 5911 (Siena 1476-94); 2) hat, similar to Briquet 3373 (Florence 1474, 1483; var Florence 1476); 3) cart, same variety as Briquet 3544 (Lucca 1434; var Lucca 1463-79): 217x147 (140x90) mm: i+90+i leaves: ruled with a dry point on verso in first, on recto in second half of gathering: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$: vertical catchwords, with a series of letter/number combinations that indicate gathering and folio. Rubricated titles and simple blue initials, not all executed: on ff 1, 17, 43, 63v illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration: f 1 has a vine-stem frieze at bottom, with space for coat of arms (not executed). Original binding of brown leather over wood; clasps no longer extant. 2nd f inc: Crede mihi non

Contents 1-82v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Primus Incipit Faeliciter' (17 Book 2 begins; 43 Book 3 begins; 63v Book 4 begins; 82v 'τελοσ'); 83-90 blank

An early note on f i identifies the owner as Antonio Benivieni (died 1502), a Florentine physician and the addressee

of an elegy of Poliziano. An inventory of his books drawn up in 1487 (which Dr de la Mare has brought to my attention) includes this Propertius as n 33 (this shelfmark appears on f 1).

Swoboda 22; Fischer 31-2 (f Hanslik); Galante *SIFC* 15 (1907) 135; B. de Vecchi 'I libri di un medico umanista fiorentino del secolo XV: Dai "Ricordi" di maestro Antonio Benivieni' *Bibliofilia* 34 (1932) 293-301

33 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Baldovinetti 213 (former Pal 389)

Italy (Bologna?), s xv (1468): single humanistic bookhand, signed 'Iō. piz̄.' Paper: watermark of a crown, similar to Briquet 4722: 242x163 (152x100) mm: v+92+iii leaves (of the flyleaves only ff iv-v are original): ruled with a dry point on verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 23 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{12}: vertical catchwords, also a series of letter/number combinations to indicate gathering and folio (the modern foliation, followed here, misses f 6 and so numbers 93 leaves). Modern binding of paperboard. 2nd f inc: Aut quid oronthea

Contents 1-93 Propertius begins, without title (18 Book 2 begins; 49 Book 3 begins; 72 Book 4 begins; 93 'Laus Deo Meo. Finis huic propertio per me Iō. piz̄. die 17. mensis Martii McccclxviiI'); 93v blank

The full name of the scribe is not known, but Dr de la Mare has informed me of a second manuscript signed by him, Brit Libr Add 22013 (Bologna, 1468-9). Early shelfmarks include '38,' found on a scrap of an earlier binding pasted down inside the present cover, and '314' (f ii^{v}).

Swoboda 22; Fischer 32 (56 Hanslik)

34 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IX.125

(This manuscript is a miscellaneous collection; apart from number of folios, details apply only to the fascicle containing Propertius.) Italy (Florence), s xv (first half?); single notarial hand, which has copied other parts of the collection as well. Paper: watermarks of 1) a flower, same type as Briquet 6655; 2) a hat, same type as Briquet 3370; 3) capital letter 'N,' not close to anything in Briquet: 219x148 (145x95) mm: v+246+iii leaves (only ff iv-v are early flyleaves): no sign of ruling: 25 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{8}, 2^{14}, 3^{10}, 4^{8}, 5^{10} (-10), 6^{10} (-10), $7\text{-}12^{10}$, 13^{8}, $14\text{-}15^{8}$, 16^{6} 17^{10}, 18^{12} (-12), $19\text{-}21^{8}$, 22^{10}, 23^{6}, 24^{12}, 25^{8}, 26^{6} (-6): vertical catchwords, with a series of letter/number combinations indicating gathering and folio. Modern binding of paperboard. 2nd f inc: Nullus amor forme

Contents (Sections copied by the scribe of the Propertius are marked with an asterisk.) *1) 2-6 anonymous commentary

on Cic *Fam* inc: (lemma) Ego omni ofitio ac potius pietate (text) hanc epistolam ad pu. lentulum Cicero scribit; 6v-10v blank; 2) 11-18 fragmentary copy of Poggio Bracciolini *Facetiae* inc: laboribus senatoriisque muneribus; 18v-24v blank; 3) 25-28v Cic *Somnium Scipionis*; 29-29v anon, letter of Alexander to the King of the Brahmins inc: Sepius ad aures meas fando peruenit; 30-34 blank; 4) 35-39 'L.A. Senecae de remediis fortune ad iunium gallionem' inc: Licet cuntorum poetarum; 39v-42v blank; *5) 43-56 Mart *Spec*, *Ep* 1.1.1-1.84.5; 56v-60 blank; *6) 61-88v Propertius 1.1.1-2.18.22; 89-90 blank; *7) 91-106v Hor *C* 1.1.1-1.31.2; 107-110 blank; *8) 111-120 Aesopus Latinus inc: ( )t iuuet et prosit conatur pagina presens; 9) 121-136v Prophecy of St Brigid inc: Destati o fiero leone al mio gran grido; 137-138 blank; 10) 139-160 Sall *Iugurtha*, incomplete; *11) 161-166v Verg *Geor* 1.1-271; 167-170 blank; 171-195r Verg *Geor* 2.1-4.111 (4.112-15 added by another hand); 195v-197; 12) 198-201v 'Statuto contra il lupo delle Donne' (according to table of contents) inc: ( )empre a laude e nome dello inmenso creatore; 202-205 blank; 13) 206-206v Ausonius *De uiro bono* (*Ecl* 3 Peiper 90-1) inc: Vir bonus et sapiens qualem uix repperit unum; 206v anon, *De rosis nascentibus* 1-10 (reading 'Et celestis aque pondere tunc grauidas' for 1.10; cf Aus ed Peiper 410); 207-213r (untitled) inc: Dicitur esse nepos de nepta luxuriosos (Walther 4425); 213v-215 blank; 14) 216-218r Sall *Catilina*, incomplete (ends 6 'sedibus incertis uagabantur'); 218v-221 blank; 15) 222-333 'Incipit primus cantus uenacio diane' inc: Nel tempo adorno che herbette nuove; *16) 234-241 (untitled: Latin prose work, incomplete) inc: Ars dicta est uel ἀπὸ τῆσ ἀρετῆσ id est a uirtute; *17) 242-243 another copy, incomplete, of the same commentary on Cicero's letters found on ff 2-6; 243v-247 blank

The inclusion of seven portions copied by the same hand suggests that the original core of the manuscript may have been a collection of some individual's papers, made before or after his death. The third section (ff 25-9v) was copied by Niccoli. The entire miscellany seems to have been assembled by 1595, when it belonged to Piero Dini of Florence (surnamed 'Il Pasciuto'), archbishop of Fermo. It was acquired in 1819 by the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana.

Swoboda 22; Fischer 32 (68 Hanslik); Mazzatinti *Inventario delle Biblioteche d'Italia* XII 12-14

35 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 633

Italy (Florence, or perhaps Siena), s xv (second half): single cursive humanistic hand, signed 'Io. Alviso' (?). Paper: various watermarks, 1) cross, same type as Briquet 5638; 2) three hills; 3) palm-tree, same type as Briquet 10637 (Lucca 1467); 4) oak-tree, similar to Briquet 7436

(Lucca 1476-7): 210x143 (150x90) mm: iii+100+i leaves (only ff ii-iii are early flyleaves; the modern foliation, followed here, begins with the first early flyleaf and so numbers 102 leaves): ruled variously with a dry point, ink, or crayon on both sides of the page: 21 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{12}, 10^{8}: no catchwords. Rubricated titles; no initials executed. Plain parchment binding, s xvii/xviii. 2nd f inc: Aut quid oronchea

Contents 3-101 Propertius begins, without title (20 'Liber secundus' ['terci' *ac*]; 53v 'Liber Tertius'; 78 'Liber Quartus'; 101 'τελωσ. P. Propertii Aurelii Naute Monoblibos ad cinthia foeliciter finit')

The scribe is otherwise unknown, unless he is the Iohannes Alovisius who contributed the epitaph and epigram on Alessandro Cinuzzi of Siena that appear on f 159v of Paris BN lat 8458. About 1500 the manuscript belonged to the library of Francesco Pandolfini, heir and executor of Bartolomeo Fonzio (shelfmark and note on f 1); Francesco may have inherited the book from his father Pier Filippo (died 1465), who also owned a considerable library (della Torre *Storia dell'accademia platonica di Firenze* 387-8; Sabbadini *SIFC* 2 [1892] 47-8). Many of Pandolfini's books found their way to the library of the Società Colombaria of Florence. Early Riccardiana shelfmark L.IV.17.

Swoboda 23; Fischer 32-3 (w Hanslik); G. Lami *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florentiae adseruantur* (Livorno 1756) 330

36 Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria E.III.29

Italy (Florence), s xv (1430-40 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand, with contemporary and later annotations. Parchment: 270x170 mm: 82 leaves (10 lost at the beginning): ruled with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters indented ($1\text{-}2^{10}$ both lost) $3\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{4}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles, not all executed; poems begin with coloured initials, books with illuminated initials with early white vine-stem decoration. Modern parchment binding.

Contents 21-82 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 2.8.20 (42 Book 3 begins; 63 Book 4 begins; 82 Propertius ends, with 'MCCCCLVJ' in a hand of s xvii); 82v various *probationes* in Greek and Latin, including 'MCCCCLVI Genue,' in one or two hands of s xvi/xvii

The date 1456 that appears twice, added by a hand one or two centuries later, is puzzling. The evidence of the manuscript's decoration points so strongly to Florence and the second quarter of the century that one must presume that the later hand has recopied an early note of purchase that appeared on a flyleaf or early binding now lost. It is a close

descendant of Vat lat 3273 and is perhaps connected in some way with Aurispa.

37 Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria F.VI.15

Italy (Padua), s xv (ca 1460): single humanistic cursive hand, attributable to Bartolomeo Sanvito, with variant readings in the same and a contemporary hand. Parchment: 175x110 mm: i+107+iii leaves: $1\text{-}10^{10}$, 11^{10} (-8, 9, 10): ruled with a dry point: 20 lines: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles, also by Sanvito: poems begin with coloured initials, books with illuminated initials with vine-stem decoration of Paduan type on a square ground, extended with bars into the margin; f 1 has such a bar extending over top and sides of the page, ornamented with Ferrarese style scroll-work and flowers; at the bottom two *putti* support a wreath with the Sanvito arms (green chevron with three lilies). Original binding of stamped leather, clasps still extant. 2nd f inc: En agedum dominae

Contents 1-107 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Incipit Ad Tullum Qualiter Amore Cynthiae Laboret' (20 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Elegiarum Liber II Incipit Ad Mecaenatem'; 55v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Tertius Incipit Ad Callimachum Et Philitam Poetas'; 82v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Incipit'; 107v 'Sexti Aurelii Propertii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Finit'); 108 blank

The manuscript belongs to a well-defined triad whose other members are Vicenza G.2.8.12 (written and rubricated by Sanvito) and Bern 519 (rubricated by Sanvito). Sanvito apparently made this copy for himself, but it is curious that the decoration should be Ferrarese in style rather than Paduan. An early note of ownership appears on f i, 'Ad usum Jacobi Barateris (?) Laudensis.' The initials found on f 3 may refer to another member of the same family ('D. G. B. L.'). Early shelfmark on f i ('Q.t.3n°.9.').

38 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 8° Philol 111[b]

Italy (Bologna, de la Mare), s xv (1459 or 1456): written by six humanistic bookhands (m1 copied ff 1r-1v, 12r-12v, 90r-93r; m2 ff 2r-11v, 13r-89v (lines 1-15); m3 f 89v (lines 16-20); m4 ff 93v-107r; m5 ff 107v-144; m6 ff 144-213), annotated by a seventh. Paper: various watermarks, 1) a lion (ff 1-51); 2) a basilisk (ff 52-155); 3) a crown (ff 52-213), none identifiable with any example in Briquet: 240x167 (written space 170x100 m1; 165x95 m2; 155x97 m4; 155x102 m5, m6): ii+213 leaves (the second flyleaf is early and of parchment); m1 and m2 ruled vertically with a dry point, no horizontal ruling: m4, m5, m6 ruled vertically in pencil, horizontally in ink:

20 lines: pentameters indented (except by m4). $1\text{-}8^{12}$, $9\text{-}19^{10}$, 20^{10} (-8, 9, 10): catchwords horizontal at bottom centre in gatherings 1-2, subsequently vertical in right corner. Rubricated titles, not all executed, those on ff 1 and 52 in alternating capitals of red and brown: poems begin with simple red or blue initials, books with illuminated initials on a square ground of red, blue, or green with silver or gold penwork, exc. f 1, where the initial is decorated with white vine-stem work. Modern parchment binding. 2nd f inc: At uos exiguo

Contents 1-51v Tibullus (with Epitaph and *Vita* added by the annotating hand); 52-155r 'Propertii Spoletani Poetae Lepidissimi Elegiarum Liber Incipit' (70 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber secundus Incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 105v 'Propertii aurelii Spoletani nautae monobyblos ad Cynthyam et ad alios Liber secundus explicit Eiusdem tertius foeliciter Incipit'; 131 Book 4 begins; 155 'τελοσ'); 155v-213r Catullus, followed by *Vita* (inc: Valerius catullus scriptor lyricus ueronae nascitur ...); 213v blank

On f 51v the annotator has added a poem by Niccolò Volpe of Vicenza, who taught for many years in Bologna (see chapter 3, p 87ff); it also appears in Ravenna Bibl Class 277 (1459) and Vat lat 1612 (1470). The annotator of the Göttingen manuscript must have been an acquaintance of Giovanni Tortelli (and hence quite possibly a pupil of Volpe, who was a correspondent of Tortelli), since he seems to have copied at least one letter in Vat lat 3908, a volume of Tortelli's collected correspondence; while most of the letters in the collection are autograph, this one cannot be, since it was written by Agostino Scanella, who died in 1450. The manuscript represents an influential humanistic recension. It was apparently in Mantua in the eighteenth century (cf chapter 5, note 1); the text of Catullus was collated by Antaldi in 1815 in Milan when it belonged to F. Cavriani. Acquired by the University Library from Hoepli of Milan in 1891.

Swoboda 3 (i Hanslik); I. Fischer *Die Handschriften der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen: Neuzugänge 1894-1966* (Wiesbaden 1968) 3-4; K. Dziatzko *Chronik der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen für das Rechnungsjahr 1894-1895* (Göttingen 1895) 17; M. Zicàri 'Il "Cavrianeus" antaldino e i codici catulliani affini al Bononiensis 2621' *Studia Oliveriana* 4-5 (1956-7) 145-62 (tav II reproduces a sample of m6); Thomson n 35 (48-9)

39 Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale 549

Italy (Pavia), s xv (1472): single cursive humanistic hand, with variant readings and notes. Paper: various watermarks of flowers, none identifiable with any example in Briquet: 200x 142 (142x80) mm: iv+166 leaves: ruled with a dry point on

verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 27 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}19^{8}$, 20^{6}, 21^{8}: horizontal catchwords, lower right corner: in Propertius (ff 89-165) there is also a series of signatures in the first half of each gathering (eg 11, 21, 31, 41 in the first gathering, where the first digit indicates the leaf and the second digit the gathering). Rubricated titles; simple rubricated initials (those for authors and books not executed). Binding perhaps original, of yellowish-green cloth; two of four clasps still extant. 2nd f inc: Quam fleat ob nostras

Contents 1-38 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 38v-39v 'Ouidii Nasonis epistola in qua conqueritur de morte Tibulli' (= Ovid *Am* 3.9); 40-40v blank; 41-84v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis (called 'Hextichum Guarini ueronensis' as in de Spira 1472 and other early edd) and followed by *Vita* (from Sicco Polentonus? inc: Valerius Catullus scriptor lyricus uerone nascitur); 85-88 ruled but blank; 89-165 'Propercii Vmbri Meuani Poete elegiographi clarissimi Liber Primus' (102v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae liber secundus Ad Mecoenatem'; 128v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae liber tertius: Sermo de calimacho et philetae'; 147 Book 4 begins; 165 'Finis ad laudem dei et uirginis. Papiae 1472 quinto calendas octob-bres'); the text of Propertius is followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4 and Propertius 1.7.24; 165v-166v blank

The affinity of the Grenoble manuscript with Dresden Dc 133 and Ambros I 67 sup has already been mentioned; they are the only manuscripts to show demonstrable acquaintance with the Neapolitanus. Paris BN lat 6075 (Curtius Rufus) seems to be the work of the same copyist (*MD* II, pl CXLVIII); it has a similar colophon dated Pavia, 1470. Lyon Palais des Arts 33 (Nepos) may be a third manuscript by the same man (*MD* VI pl CXXXIII); it is dated 12 April 1470. Inside the front cover is a note of s xv.xvi; 'Nous appointons (?) aussi(?),' followed by a complicated monogram. On f i two notes of s xvi/xvii, 'Io Mollisso (? Molusso?) condrion' and 'Inuent. C.xi.' Early shelfmarks appear on a tag on the spine (117; 73; 129).

Swoboda 14 (90 Hanslik); *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements: VII* (Grenoble) 256; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 37 (48-9)

40 Groningen, Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek 159

Italy (Rome), s xv (ca 1470): copied by three cursive humanistic hands (m1 ff 1-10v; m2 ff 11-13v; m3 ff 14-87), annotated and corrected by m2 and by a hand of s xvi. Parchment: 142x95 (105x62) mm: i+88+ii leaves (flyleaves all modern): ruled in ink, usually on both sides of the page: 26 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}6^{10}$, $7\text{-}8^{12}$, 9^{4}: vertical catchwords.

Some rubricated titles executed by scribe or early corrector: simple rubricated initials for poems (none for 4.1): on f 1 a modest illuminated initial with trail of white vine-stem decoration with gold discs and red and blue wash: the title and first line of the text are written in capitals of blue, gold, and red, attributable to Bartolomeo Sanvito (who may also have decorated f 1). Binding of tooled leather over paperboard, s xvii. 2nd f inc: Quid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-87r 'Propertii Nautae Meuan. Vmbri Cynthia'; (15v 'Finis primi libri Pro. Nau. in. Secundus'; 45 'Liber III' added by a modern hand; 66v 'Liber IV' added by a modern hand; 87 text ends, followed by Martial 14.189); 87v-88 blank

The Roman provenance is established by the presence of Sanvito (who worked for many years in Rome) and by the observation that one unusual reading (2.20.12 'stafiliamque') is elsewhere found only in Paris BN lat 8459, which may be a copy of the Groninganus in this part of the text, and in the commentary of Gaspar Manius, prepared under the direction of Pomponio Leto about 1480 and inscribed in the margins of Vat lat 1612. Many of the good readings of the present manuscript are also found in Rome Bibl Casanatense 3227, also of Roman origin, which is probably one of the exemplars of the Groninganus. 'Cynthia' appears as the title of the corpus elsewhere only in Bibl Casanatense 15, written by Leto and rubricated by Sanvito in 1470 or 1471. The first non-Italian owner was Johannes Sambucus (1531-84), whose ex-libris appears on f 1; he in turn gave it to Johannes Posthius (1537-97). It belonged later to Andreas Schott, probably late in his life when he was living in Antwerp (note on f 1 'Antwerpiae A. Schotti'). It may have entered the University Library soon after Schott's death in 1629, since it appears in a printed inventory of 1669. The manuscript was used frequently by early editors under several different names; it was collated by Palmerius, Modius, Lernutius, Livineius, and others, and was regarded by Lachmann as the best Propertius manuscript.

Swoboda 36 (83 Hanslik); H. Brugmans *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Universitatis Groninganae Bibliothecae* (Groningen 1898) 73-4; W. Grumme 'De codicibus Propertianis Groningano et Neapolitano. Quaestio critica' *Gymn Progr Aurich* (1868); P.J. Enk 'Het Propertius-handschrift der Groningse Universiteitsbibliotheek' *Bibliotheek-leven* 43 (1958) 316-20

41 Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Scrin 139.4

Italy, s xv (Ferrara, ca 1460-70 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand, with variants in a contemporary hand (some notes by a later hand on f 118). Parchment: 215x145 (165x75) mm: iii+165+i leaves (of the flyleaves only ff ii-iii are original; one leaf has been lost at the beginning): ruled

with a dry point, hair side only: 26 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10} (-1), $2\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{8}, $11\text{-}17^{10}$, 18^{8}: vertical catchwords (none for gathering 13, which ends Propertius). Rubricated titles (those in Tibullus end R^{ca}, ie *Rubrica*): poems begin with simple blue or red initials: ff 39 and 118 have illuminated initials with frieze of gold interlace (f 39) or red, green, and blue interlace on a gold ground (f 118) in addition to white vine-stem decoration: formerly the same on the folio now lost from first gathering, where the frieze (to judge by the impressions left on the flyleaf) extended around the entire page and had a wreath with coat of arms at bottom centre. Modern binding (s xix). 2nd f (= f 1) inc: Et dominam tenero

Contents 1-38v Tibullus, beginning *mutilus* at 1.1.46, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 38v 'Tibulli elegiarum decoris epitaphion' inc: Sub teneris annis tenerorum lusor amorum; 39-117v 'Incipit Monobliblos (Monoblibos *ac*) Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Tullum Foeliciter' (52v 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber primus explicit Secundus incipit feliciter'; 79v 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber secundus explicit tercius incipit: lege foeliciter'; 99 'Propertii aurelii nautae monobiblos liber iii explicit incipit quartus'; 117v 'Finis. Propertii aurelii nautae monobyblos feliciter explicit uel liber elegiarum propertii finit'); 118-164 Catullus, followed by verses of de Campesanis; 165 blank

The text of Propertius derives from the same conflation of Bodley Holkham Misc 36 and Vat lat 3273 as Brussels 14638 and Bodley Add B 55. One can see from the impressions on the flyleaf that the coat of arms on the former first folio contained blue and silver; this is sufficient to refute the claim, made already in the early nineteenth century, that the manuscript was copied for or belonged to Matthias Corvinus. The name of an early owner, 'Romani nigrisoli,' appears on f 165; the Nigrisoli were a Ferrarese family.

Swoboda 3 (106 Hanslik); M. Isler, 'Ein Codex Corvinianus in der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek' *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1 (1884) 444-7; C. Csapodi *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest 1973) 376-7; Ferguson 17-21; Richmond I 162-196; La Penna II 5-7; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 38 (48-9)

42 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Voss lat O.13

Italy (northeast?), s xv (ca 1460?): copied by several humanistic hands (m1 ff 1-62v, 88v-145r, m2 ff 63-88v, 145v-177; m3 ff 180v-223v), with additions and corrections by several contemporary and later hands. Paper: various watermarks, 1) a column crowned, similar to Briquet 4408; 2) sceptre, similar to Briquet 3099; 3) two watermarks of a bull's head with flower, similar to Briquet 14793 or 14872: 204x149 (142x90

except 152x75 on ff 181-223) mm: iii+223+ii leaves (all fly-leaves modern): ruled with a dry point, usually on verso: 27 lines: pentameters usually not indented. 1^{12}(-1, 12), $2\text{-}9^{12}$, 10^{16}, $11\text{-}12^{12}$, 13^{10}, $14\text{-}15^{12}$, $16\text{-}17^{10}$, 18^{12}, 19^{12} (-12): vertical catchwords (but horizontal at centre in gatherings 10 and 11). Rubricated titles, not all executed: simple rubricated initials as far as f 143 (but green on ff 131v-4v), none executed thereafter. Modern binding of brown calf. 2nd f inc: Vt domus hostiles (exiles *vl*)

Contents 1-36v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 36v Life of Propertius (taken from de Spira ed of 1472, which has adapted it from Sicco Polentonus), added by an early corrector; 37-112v 'Propertii liber primus Incipit ad Tullum' (50v Book 2 begins; 76 Book 3 begins; 95 Book 4 begins; 112v 'Propertii Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Finit'); 113-177 sylloge of ancient and humanistic verse, substantially the same as in Brescia A.VII.7 and Harley 2574 (listed in full by de Meyier); 177v-180r blank; 180v Life of Catullus (as, eg, in Grenoble 549) and verses of de Campesanis (called 'Hextichum Guarini Veronensis') added by the same hand as the Propertius Life on f 36v; 181-223 Catullus

The manuscript, for Propertius at least, is a copy of the same exemplar as Brescia A.VII.7 and Harley 2574; the Catullus text seems not to be related to the other two. The Propertius was cited by Burman as the 'Vossianus tertius.'

Fischer 41 (59 Hanslik); de Meyier 36-9; Zicāri 79-99; Thomson n 39 (48-9)

43 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Voss lat O.38

France (Orléans?), s xiii (ca 1230-50): single Gothic bookhand, with annotations by a contemporary hand, by an at least semi-humanistic hand of s xiv/xv, and by a non-Italian humanistic hand of s xv. Parchment: 214x131 (130x60) mm: 16 leaves (the manuscript is a fragment): ruled with pencil both sides of page (the vertical ruling produces a double column on the left, the outer used for the first letter of each line, the inner left blank: only every other ruled horizontal line has been used for copying the text): 47 lines ruled, 24 written: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}2^{8}$: consecutive capital letters bottom centre, horizontal catchwords bottom right at end of each gathering. Rubricated titles to poems written in the margins by the scribe (the text was copied continuously): poems begin with red or blue flourished initials, books with red initials flourished with red and blue. Paperboard binding of s xix. 2nd f inc: Surgat et in solis

Contents 1 'Incipit monobiblos propercii aurelii naute ad tullum' (to which the first correcting hand has added 'heroys prima') (15v 'Incipit liber secundus ad mecenatem'); 16v ends *mutilus* with 2.1.63

This manuscript, cited by editors as A, is the second earliest extant witness to the text. As R. Rouse has shown, it was copied for Richard de Fournival of Amiens by a scribe who copied other books for him as well. Fournival probably invented the title that appears in A (taking 'monobiblos' from the lemma to Martial 14.189) as well as the form of the poet's name, which is the same as that given in his *Biblionomia*, an elaborate system of library classification. From Fournival A passed to Gerardus (or Stephanus, according to Ullman) de Abbatisvilla; his books went to the Sorbonne, where A appears in the 1338 catalogue under the name *Propicius de uirtutibus* (Ullman used the second-folio *incipit* given by the catalogue to establish the identity of the two manuscripts). Petrarch had his copy made while it was at the Sorbonne. It is tempting to speculate that the erased notes in the margins of A might be from Petrarch himself; the only one that can be read entire ('Galle, quam inuides' at 1.5.1) is certainly consistent in style with the many notes known from other manuscripts. How A passed from the Sorbonne to the collection of Paul Petau is uncertain; subsequently it belonged to Alexandre Petau, Queen Christina of Sweden, Isaac Voss, and Gerhard Voss, who gave it with the rest of his library to the University of Leiden. It was cited occasionally by Burman as the 'Vossianus secundus,' but its use by editors is due to Baehrens.

Swoboda 36-7; de Meyier 75-7; R. Rouse 'The A Text of Seneca's Tragedies in the Thirteenth Century' *Revue d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971) 93; id 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival' *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 267; S. Patterson 'Minor Initial Decoration Used to Date the Propertius Fragment' *Scriptorium* 28 (1974) 235-47; Ullman 282-301; id *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome 1955); E. Chatelain *Paléographie des classiques latins* 2 (Paris 1894-1900) pl 102,2 (reproduction of f 9r)

44 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Voss lat 0.81

Italy (Rome or Naples?), s xv (second or third quarter): single Gothic-humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 166x108 (111x 65) mm: 226 leaves: ruled usually with a dry point on flesh side: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}22^{10}$, 23^{8} (-1, 8): catchwords variously horizontal at centre or vertical in right corner. Rubricated titles in Petronius and *Appendix Vergiliana*, elsewhere not executed (supplied by a later hand in Catullus and Tibullus): poems begin with simple red initials: each author begins with an initial imitating the style of the thirteenth century. Modern binding of paperboard. 2nd f inc: Clamne solet

Contents 1-10v *Priapea* inc: Carminis incompti lusus lecture procaces; 10v-26 *Appendix Vergiliana*, selections (10v-13

Moretum; 13-13v *De rosis nascentibus*; 14 *Copa*; 14v 'Epitaphium baliste conditum a Marone' [cf Donatus *Vita Verg* 17] inc: Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur balista sepultus; 14v-15 *Est et non*; 15-15v *Vir bonus*; 15v-23 *Culex*; 23-26 *Elegiae in Maecenatem*); 26v blank; 27-54 Petronius *Satyricon*, selections inc: Cum alio genere furiarum declamatores inquietantur; 54v-102 Catullus; 102v-142 Tibullus, preceded by *Vita* and followed by Epitaph (the later hand that added many titles has also added the Epitaph between the *Vita* and the text itself); 142v-224 Propertius, beginning without title (156v Book 2 begins; 184 Book 3 begins; 205v Book 4 begins; 224 Propertius ends); 224v-226v blank

The affiliation of the Propertius text is not entirely clear; there are certainly some readings present from a Neapolitan group, but the major affinity seems to be with certain relatives of Genoa E.III.29, which range from the Veneto to Naples. Its affiliations in the *Culex* are Roman, according to M.D. Reeve, and Thomson describes its Catullus text as 'strikingly' close to Paris 7989, but with eta readings as well.

Swoboda 38; Fischer 41-2 (α Hanslik); de Meyier 139-42; A.C. de la Mare 'The Return of Petronius to Italy' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford 1976) 220-54 (esp 223-4); Richmond I 162-96; La Penna II 8-14; M.D. Reeve 'The Textual Tradition of the *Appendix Vergiliana*' *Maia* 28 (1976) 233-54; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 42 (48-9)

45 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Voss lat O.82

Italy (Rome), s xv (second half): copied by a single humanistic cursive hand, corrected and annotated by another. Paper: various watermarks, 1) a horn, close to Briquet 7694 (Naples 1466; var Rome 1470-2); 2) three hills in a circle surmounted by a cross; 3) crossed arrows in a circle, not close to any example in Briquet: 165x114 (105x70) mm: 107 leaves: ruled with a dry point on verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 20 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10} (-1, 10), $2\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{10} (-2), $6\text{-}11^{10}$: vertical catchwords. A few rubricated titles executed: initials planned but not executed. Modern binding of paperboard. 2nd f inc: ( )uis iuuat ornato

Contents 1-103r 'Auli Propertii Vmbri Elegia Ad Tullum' (18 'Auli Propertii Vmbri Ad Mecenatem μονου ιυλιου Liber Secundus'; 53 Book 3 begins; 78v Book 4 begins; 103 'τελωσ'); 103v-107v blank

Closely related to three other Roman copies (Vat lat 1611, Salamanca 245, Leningrad Cl.lat.Q.12); the name *Aulus Propertius* (doubtless an effort to correct the double gentile name Aurelius Propertius) is otherwise known only in Casanatense 15, Leto's copy. The manuscript was cited by Burman as the 'Vossianus quartus.'

Swoboda 38; Fischer 42 (89 Hanslik); de Meyier 142-3

46 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Voss lat Q.117

Italy (Padua), s xv (ca 1460): copied by two humanistic bookhands (m1 ff 1-40; m2 ff 41-86). Parchment: 216x147 (135x90 m1, 140x85 m2) mm: i+86 leaves: m1 ruled horizontally with ink, vertically in ink or with a dry point, on both sides or on verso only: m2 ruled with a dry point, verso only: 24 lines m1, 24-6 m2: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{6}: catchwords horizontal for m1 (except vertical in gathering 2), vertical for m2. No titles executed, but written in margin as guide to rubricator: initials planned but not executed, except f 1, which has an illuminated initial with awkward squarish vine-stem decoration of very modest dimensions. Modern binding of red paperboard. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-86 Propertius, without title (16v Book 2 begins; 46 Book 3 begins; 67v Book 4 begins; 86 'Finis'); 86v blank

The earliest known owner is one Bartolomeo 'de gronpis,' son of 'Rubert da gronpis' (s xvi?), whose name appears on f i; like the manuscript, he was 'de padue,' to use his own phrase. Another early owner is 'M. antonio Chortona' (f i^{v}). It belonged later to the Cardinal von Dietrichstein, from whose home it was stolen by Swedish troops; it belonged for a time to Queen Christina, then entered the University Library with the collection of Gerhard Voss. It was collated by Heinsius and Burman, but its use in modern editions (under the *siglum* Vo) is due to O.L. Richmond, who saw that it was affiliated with Baehrens' D and V.

Swoboda 38; K.A. de Meyier *Codices Vossiani Latini II: Codices in Quarto* (Leiden 1975) 257-8; Richmond I 162-96

47 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek B.P.L. 133A

Italy (northeast?), s xv (ca 1460-70): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment (much darkened, probably by water damage): 221x145 (150x95) mm: 83 leaves: ruled with a dry point on verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 25 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}4^{8}$, 5^{8} (-8), $6\text{-}10^{8}$, 11^{4} (-4) (the folio lost from gathering 5 was replaced in the seventeenth century by someone who also began to copy out the contents of the missing leaf): vertical catchwords (perhaps added by another hand). Rubricated titles, not all executed: simple blue or red initials executed on ff 73-80 only: on f 1 a large *C* with interlace work has been sketched. Modern binding of plain parchment, s xvii/xviii. 2nd f inc: ( )Vid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-83 Propertius, beginning without title (15v 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber secundus incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 43v 'Explicit liber secundus Incipit tercius'; 63v 'Explicit liber tercius Incipit quartus,: 83 Propertius ends)

The modern history of the manuscript begins with the French physician Jacques Mentel, who gave it to his friend Nicolaus Heinsius (n 367 in his library); it later belonged to P. Francius. It must have belonged to Broekhuyzen as well, for he states in his note on 2.34.39 (2.25.39 in his numbering) that the manuscript that he called his own 'secundus' had been 'ipsius quondam Heinsii, et antea Jacobi Mentelii.' It must have entered the Bibliotheca Publica by 1780 at the latest, since the Burman-Santen commentary sometimes cites it as the 'Leidensis primus'; Burman also cited it as the 'codex Mentelianus,' presumably when he derived its readings from the collations of Heinsius or Broekhuyzen.

Swoboda 38; Fischer 42-3 (94 Hanslik); *Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis Codices Manuscripti III: Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latinae* (Leiden 1912) 109

48 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek I Lips F.43

Italy (Padua: de la Mare), s xv (1475 or after): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Bartolomeo Squara. Parchment: 217x136 (128x73) mm: ii+78+ii leaves (all flyleaves except f ii are modern and of paper): ruled in ink on flesh side: 27 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{8}: horizontal catchwords bottom centre as well as a series of consecutive capital letters in corner. Rubricated titles for poems (those for books have been omitted): the first letter of each line has been written in a lighter shade of ink (not filled in on ff 46v-60v): simple blue or red initials for poems: each book begins with an initial of green (1 and 2), violet (3), or blue (4) with gold vegetal decoration on a ground of scarlet (1 and 2), deep blue (3), or green (4): f 1 has at left, top, and right a frieze of acanthus and vegetal ornament on a ground of blue and gold: bottom centre is occupied by a large miniature depicting a combat of cavalry and infantry. Brown calf binding, s xviii, stamped with gold. 2nd f inc: Surgat et in solis

Contents 1-77 Propertius, beginning without title (14v Book 2 begins; 40v Book 3 begins; 59v Book 4 begins; 77v 'laus deo'; 78 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Naute Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Explicit' and 'per me Bortolameum Squaram' written three times in three styles and sizes of lettering)

The text derives in part from the Milan edition of 1475. Dr de la Mare has brought to my attention another manuscript written by the same scribe at the age of fourteen (Bodl Canon Misc 87, dated 1474). Despite its shelf-mark, the manuscript seems never to have belonged to Lipsius but rather to Alexandre Petau (his bookplate inside the front cover), whose library was sold at the same time as that of Lipsius. Burman cited it as his 'Leidensis secundus.'

Swoboda 38; Fischer 43 (112 Hanslik)

49 Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library Cl.lat. Q.12

Italy (Rome), s xv (1463): single cursive humanistic hand, signed by Marianus de Magistris, with marginal commentary added by a contemporary hand. Paper: 210x135 mm: 113 leaves: 27 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{12} (-1), 2-5^{12}, 6^{10}, 7^{12}, 8^{10}, 9^{12}, 10^{10}: vertical catchwords. Illuminated initials on a square ground on ff 14v, 39v, 77: simple rubricated initials for poems. 2nd f inc: (= f 1) Surgat et in solis

Contents 1-76 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.2.11 (14v 'Incipit Secundus liber'; 39v Book 3 begins; 58v Book 4 begins; 76 'Finis'); 76v Anon, derivation of Monobyblos (cf appendix); 77-113 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*

The scribe signed after both elegists, with the date 21 February after Propertius, 15 March after Tibullus, both 1463. Marianus also copied and signed All Souls College, Oxford MS 93 (*Colophons* 13057) and Vat lat 1690 (id 13061), dated 1465 and 1461 respectively. The manuscript contains the stamp of the Russian Imperial Library.

50 Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library Q.V.3

Italy, s xv (ca 1460-70?): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 263x150 mm: i+52 leaves (the manuscript has been damaged heavily and now contains only 1.2.19-1.3.42, 1.10.21-1.19.14, 2.1.31-2.10.18, 2.14.17-4.2.44, 4.3.39-4.6.28): 30 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{8} (-1, 3, 4, 5, 6), 2^{8} (-4, 5) 3^{8} (-4, 5), 4-6^{8}, 7^{10}, $8^{?}$: horizontal catchwords right corner, perhaps added by another hand, on ff 3, 9, 15, 23, 31, 39. Coloured initials: no titles executed. 2nd f inc: (= f 1) Et tenues coa

Contents 1-52 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.2.19 (28 Book 3 begins; 45v Book 4 begins; 52v ends *mutilus* at 4.6.28)

A note on the last folio, in which the leaves are already numbered as 52, gives the name of one owner as the Abbé de Grandedieu; the manuscript later belonged to the collector Pierre Dubrowskii and to the Imperial Library. It is related to, and perhaps a copy of, Brit Libr Add 23766 (dated 1468).

51 London, British Library Additional 10387

Italy (Verona), s xv (1474): single humanistic cursive hand, signed by Pierfilippo Muronovo. Paper: watermark of a duck, same type as Briquet 12132-42, all from Verona or Vicenza: 203x138 (138x98) mm: ii+98+ii leaves (the modern foliation, followed here, begins on the second folio of the first gathering): ruled on verso with a dry point: 21 lines: pentameters indented. 1-9^{10}, 10^{10} (-9, 10): vertical catchwords. Titles in red or green on ff 1-31, elsewhere omitted: no initials executed. Binding of brown calf, s xix. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-97 'Propertii Nautae Vmbri Meuani Poetae Elegiographi Clarissimi Liber Primus. Ad Tullum' (16 'Propertii Nautae liber secundus Ad Maecenatem'; 49 'liber iii' added by a late hand; 74 'Liber quartus' added by the same hand; 97 'Finis. Explicitum est opusculum hoc et manu petriphilippi muronoui Veronensis transcriptum die x septembris Mcccclxxiiii hora xxii[a] die Sabbati et festo sancti nicolae'); 97v-98 blank

Muronovo, who also copied Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus Add 272 (Ovid, *Ars* and *Remedia*, dated 1470-3), took his text largely from de Spira 1472, with some correction in Book 1 from the *editio princeps*; the present book was formerly bound with Add 10386, a Catullus also copied by Muronovo (Thomson n 44), and was purchased in 1836 (Heber's lot 1240).

Swoboda 11; Fischer 24 (100 Hanslik); *List of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum in the Years 1836-1840* (London 1843) 34

52 London, British Library Additional 17417

Italy, s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand, with additions by several contemporary hands. Paper: watermarks of a six-pointed star within a circle, similar to Briquet 6076-82, and of a basilisk, not close to any example in Briquet: 195x127 (135x85) mm: vi+99+iii leaves (only ff v-vi are early flyleaves; the modern foliation, followed here, begins with f v): ruled in pencil, both sides of page: 22 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10} (-1), $2\text{-}10^{10}$: no catchwords. Rubricated titles: initials planned but not executed. Modern binding of brown calf. 2nd f inc: ( )Vid iuuat

Contents 1 Ovid *AA* 3.329-40, added by a hand of s xv/xvi; 3-97 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.2.1 through the loss of one folio (19 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Liber secundus incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 51v Book 3 begins; 75 'Explicit liber tertius Sexti Aurelii propertii naute eiusdem incipit quartus'; 97 'τελοσ. Explicit Monobyblos Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Cynthiam'); 97v Life of Propertius (from de Spira 1472, added by a contemporary hand); 98v-101v Italian sonnets of Niccolò di Sideri of Bologna, addressed to Francesco Palazi (98v inc: Madona et mia signora el tuo bel uolto; 99 inc: Fugito era dal chiaro et uiuo foco; 99v inc: S'el uostro petto col piombato strale; 100 inc: Bemche per dira sorte siam diuisi; 100v inc: Splendida Stella o Relucente sole); 101-101v blank, except for *probationes* and two magical(?) recipes on 101v ('Exuet [*sc* Exue et] accipe sanguinis leporis et umecta pannum nouum et ardeas ipsum' and 'Accipe linguam turturis et pulueriza et da ei comedendam')

On f 1 appears the name of Angelo Ripanti (1449-1512), bishop of Iesi (information supplied by Dr de la Mare). Another note on f 1 records that the manuscript was purchased in Pesaro in 1820 for Antaldo Antaldi, the editor of Catullus

who collated Gött philol 111[b] in Milan in 1815; the shelfmark 'N.14' on f iv apparently derives from an earlier Italian owner. In 1840 it was purchased by one P. Rolandi, then by the British Museum in 1848.

Swoboda 11; Fischer 24-5 (54 Hanslik); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1848-1853* (London 1868) 15

53 London, British Library Additional 23766

Italy (Ferrara?), s xv (1468): single humanistic cursive hand, signed by 'Cannalis.' Paper: watermark of the forequarters of a stag, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 230x164 (150x95) mm: ii+96+ii leaves (all flyleaves modern; the modern foliation, followed here, begins with the second flyleaf and so numbers 97 leaves): ruled on verso with a dry point: 22 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{12}$: vertical catchwords. No titles executed: simple blue or red initials for poems: ff 2, 18v, 51, 74v have small illuminated initials on a square ground of blue or violet with silver or white penwork: at bottom of f 2 a wreath with coat of arms (blue bird, spread out over a ground of blue and red stripes), identified in a note on f 1 as belonging to the Canali family. Modern paperboard binding. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Aut quid oronthea

Contents 2-97 Propertius, beginning without title (18v Book 2 begins; 51 Book 3 begins; 74v Book 4 begins; 97 'Finis. 1468. Propertii Aurelii spoletani poetae Lepidissimi Elegiarum Liber.

> Me cannalis habet, fuerat qui cultor amicae
> Philotidis: propria scripserat ante manu.
> Legerit ergo suum lector quicunque libellum
> Optet philotidis sit sibi lenis amor.')

97v blank

A note on f 1, dated 1853, identifies the scribe as Giovanni Canali, but there is no mention of him or of his beloved Philotis in Cosenza. More likely it is Matteo (or Mattia) Canale, a poet born in Ferrara in 1443 (L. Ughi *Dizionario storico degli uomini illustri ferraresi* [Ferrara 1804] I 109). Some of his poetry (none dealing with Philotis) is printed in *Nuovi documenti per la storia del Rinascimento* ed T. de Marinis and A. Perosa (Florence 1970). Canale vies with Francesco Maturanzio, the scribe of Casanatense 3227, for the honour of first emending 'Gigantea' to 'Gigantei' in 1.20.9, and he is certainly the first to make the correction 'flemus caput esse tumultu' in 2.27.7 (where many manuscripts have 'flemus' or 'caput,' but the dative form 'tumultu' is unique to Canale). The manuscript was purchased at Sotheby's, 19 January 1860 (lot 436).

Swoboda 11; Fischer 25 (58 Hanslik); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1854-1860* (London 1875) 906

54 London, Britih Library Burney 241

Italy (northeast), s xv (second half): single humanistic cursive hand, becoming more upright. Parchment: 170x113 (120x72) mm: ii+95+ii leaves (the penultimate flyleaf is modern and of paper; an earlier pagination numbering both sides has been replaced by a modern foliation, followed here, that begins from the second flyleaf): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 22 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{6}: vertical or horizontal catchwords in corner, also letter-number signatures to indicate gathering and folio. Simple red or blue initials for poems: books, except 3, begin with illuminated initials (f 2 on a square ground of violet with gold interlace and penwork; ff 18v and 73v violet initials on a square gold ground with green and white interlace respectively): on f 2 two cloaked lions support a coat of arms (gold ground, blue diagonal - this might be a later addition): titles written in red, green, or both: the first letter of each line is also written in red or green, often in alternation: the text of the *Monobyblos* derivation on ff 95v-96r is written in 3 lines of green, 4 of red, 11 of green, one of red, and one of both in alternation. Burney binding of red calf, s xviii. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Sitis et in

Contents 2-95v Propertius, beginning without title (18v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Primus Explicit Incipit Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 50v Book 3 begins without distinction; 73v 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Elegiarum Liber IIII Incipit' 95v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobiblos Quartus Et Vltimus Liber Explicit'); 95v-96 Anon, Derivation of *Monobyblos* (cf Appendix)

A note on f 1 identifies an early owner as Pompileo Magheg-nati, 'Vicarius et Ciues Castri Franci' (presumably Castel Franco Veneto). A note of Burman, that his own 'secundus' and the 'Heinsianus,' which he knew from Heinsius' collations, both omitted 1.2.16, shows that this is to be identified as the second of the two Propertius manuscripts owned by Heinsius (n 617 in his library; the other is Leiden B.P.L. 133A).

Swoboda 9; Fischer 21 (108 Hanslik)

55 London, British Library Burney 242

Italy (Ferrara: de la Mare), s xv (1493 or after): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 147x83 (111x61) mm: iii+171+iii leaves (flyleaves all modern and of paper): ruled in ink, both sides of page: 30 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{8}$, 9^{8} (-8): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: each poem begins with an initial of gold ink: one complete initial for Book 1 (violet on square gold ground with green, red, blue

vegetal ornament), those for 2 and 3 have a blue ground with the initial sketched, that for 4 is only sketched. Brown calf binding, s xix. 2nd f inc: Non idae et cupido

Contents 1-70 Propertius, beginning without title (13 'Ad Moecenatem Liber Secundus'; 36v 'Propertii Aurelii Liber Tertius'; 53v 'Liber Quartus'; 70 Propertius ends); 70-70v 'Eiusdem Philippi beroaldi hedecassyllabon' inc: Quisquis carptor es et calumniator; 70v-71r 'Heitoymi Salii fauentini in inuidum carmen' inc: Inuide quid laceras facundi scripta philippi

As the poems of 'eiusdem Philippi beroaldi' and Hieronymus Salius show, the manuscript was copied from one of the printings of Beroaldus' edition; the spelling of Salius' name as 'Hietoymi' suggests that the 1493 reprint of Bevilacqua, which reads 'Hieroymi,' is the source.

Swoboda 10; Fischer 22 (129 Hanslik)

56 London, British Library Egerton 3027

Italy (Perugia), s xv (1467): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Pacificus Maximus Irenaeus of Ascoli, who also annotated the manuscript extensively. Parchment: 191x102 (152x65) mm: i+130 leaves (the flyleaf is numbered f iii): ruled hair side with a dry point: 38 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}13^{10}$: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: ff 1, 55v, 82, 113v have modest illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration: each book of an author begins with an illuminated initial on a square ground: simple blue or red initials for poems. Dark brown leather binding, early if not original; formerly there were four clasps. 2nd f inc: Qualis thesea

Contents 1-55 'Sexti Aurelii propertii nautae monobilos Ad Cinthiam Liber primus incipit feliciter' (10v 'Liber Secundus propertii incipit'; 29 'Incipit Liber Tertius propertii'; 42 'Incipit Liber quartus finito tertio'; 55 'Finis propertii. Sexti aurelii propertii nautae monobilos ad Cinthiam foeliciter explicit per me Pacificum Maximum de Asculo in sapientia ueteri Perusie Anno 1467, 6 die februarii. Deo gratias et matri'); 55v-81v Tibullus, preceded by *Vita* and Epitaph; 82-113v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 113v-122 *Priapea*; 122-122v Priapeum 'Quid hoc noui est'; 123-130 blank

Pacificus Maximus of Ascoli (his dates are given as 1400-1500) was a prolific writer of both prose and verse, but has been the object of no proper modern study. His Propertius is a copy of the already interpolated Ravenna 277 (copied in Spello[?] in 1459), to which a number of original conjectures have been added. Six other manuscripts copied by him are known (listed above, chapter 8), three of them written in Perugia in 1465-7. He may have been in Siena in 1472, when Poppi 54 was corrected, apparently from his lectures; he copied a Lucan there in 1475. Five of the known manuscripts written by him

are now in the University Library of Bologna, having come there from the library of San Salvatore in the same city. The present copy was also in the same library about 1533 and can be identified as n 326 of an inventory drawn up about that time by Fabio Vigili; the shelfmark has been erased, along with an ex-libris, but both can be read under ultraviolet light. The manuscript must have been abstracted soon after, for by 1577 it had become the property of Jacques Cujas (1522-90), who loaned it to his friend J.J. Scaliger; Scaliger used it to prepare his edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius printed in that year (his collation survives in a 1569 Plantiniana at the University of Leiden, 755 H 23). The codex must have remained in France for many years, to judge by an unsigned note on f 124v ('Ce manuscrit m'a été donné par l'abbé Mathon en l'an 1808'). It next appears in England, where it was bought by Henry Ellis Allen from a London bookseller about 1850. While the property of that purchaser's son, it came to the attention of A. Palmer, who first identified it as the 'Cuiacianus' of Scaliger. Purchased at Sotheby's 30 January 1920 (lot 16).

Swoboda 10 (т Hanslik); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1916-1920*; M.H. Laurent *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au debut du xvi^e siècle d'après le ms. Barb. lat. 3185* Studi e Testi 105 (Città del Vaticano 1943) 325; A. Palmer and R. Ellis 'Scaliger's liber Cuiacianus of Propertius, Catullus, Tibullus' *Hermathena* 3 (1875) 124-58; A.T. Grafton 'Joseph Scaliger's Edition of Catullus (1577) and the Traditions of Textual Criticism in the Renaissance' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975) 155-81; G. Billanovich *IMU* 5 (1962) 141; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 52 (50-1)

57 London, British Library Harley 2550

Italy (Florence?), s xv: two humanistic hands, the first (ff 1-38) more formal, the second (ff 39-82) more cursive; the second has also annotated and added titles to ff 1-38. Paper: watermarks of 1) scales, closest to Briquet 2444 (Venice 1469, var Fabriano 1471-87); 2) a wagon, closest to Briquet 3544 (Lucca 1434, var Rome 1459-60, Lucca 1463-79): 212x143 (151x80 ff 1-38; 156x80 ff 39-82) mm: i+85+i leaves (flyleaves all modern): ff 1-38 ruled with crayon both sides of page, ff 39-82 ruled with a dry point on verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 25 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10}, 2^{8}, $3\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{8}: vertical catchwords. No initials executed: rubricated titles executed ff 39-82 only. Modern binding of red cloth (dated 1966). 2nd f inc: Aspice quos mictat

Contents 1-82v Propertius, beginning without title ('Propertii aurelii nautae liber foeliciter incipit' added by

scribe of ff 39-82) (15v Book 2 begins; 43 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber secundus explicit tertius incipit'; 63v 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber tertius explicit quartus incipit'; 82v 'finis amen. τελοσ. Propertii aurelii nautae liber quartus et ultimus feliciter explicit. finis amen. finis')

The first part of the manuscript is a close descendant of Salutati's (Laur pl.36,49), perhaps by way of San Marco 690; it may be Florentine. It was acquired for the Harley collection in 1720 from John Gibson, a bookseller with Florentine connections.

Swoboda 10; Fischer 23 (b Hanslik); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1808) II 699; C.E. Wright *Fontes Harleiani* (London 1972) 162, 411

58 London, British Library Harley 2574

Italy, s xv (Naples or Rome, ca 1450-75: de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand. Paper: watermark same type as Briquet 14872 or 14874: 205x144 (143x65) mm: iii+214+iii leaves (only the flyleaves immediately flanking the manuscript are early): ruled with a dry point on recto only: 30 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}17^{12}$, 18^{10}: no catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple initials of red or blue for poems: several illuminated initials, some with vine-stem decoration (ff 1, 22, 34v, 46, 86, 103), some on a square ground of red and blue with silver or white penwork (ff 14v, 69v, 155). Red calf binding, s xix. 2nd f inc: Non ego laudari

Contents 1-34 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 34v-102v 'Propertii Liber primus incipit Ad Tullum' (46v 'Sexti Aurelii Propertii nautae elegiarum liber primus finit incipit secundus Ad Mecanatem'; 69v 'Sexti Aurelii propertii nautae elegiarum ad Cynthiam amicam Liber secundus finit incipit tertius ad Callimachum et philitam poetas'; 86v 'Sexti Aurelii propertii nautae elegiarum liber tertius finit incipit quartus et ultimus eiusdem'; 102v 'Propertii liber quartus et ultimus finit');

102v-141v Catullus, followed by verses of de Campesanis;

141v-214v collection of ancient and humanistic verse, substantially the same as in Brescia A.VII.7 and Leiden O.13: 141v 'In Vetulum Mariscosum' inc: Vnus saepe tibi tota denarius arca (Mart 2.51); 'Ad Labienum' inc: Quod pectus quod crura tibi quod brachia uillis (Mart 2.62); 'Ad Galbam' inc: Subdola formose moneo fuge retia moechae (Mart 2.47); 142 'In Policarnam' inc: Qum futuis Policarne soles in fine cacare (Mart 9.69); 'In Puerum Tonsorem' inc: Hoc iacet in tumulo raptus puerilibus annis (Mart 6.52); 'Epitaphium Canches Puellae Eburneae' inc: Eolides Canche iacet hoc tumulata sepulchro (Mart 11.91); 'in Lidum Puerum Foedifragum' inc: Venturum iuras semper mihi Lyde roganti (Mart 11.73); 142v 'Ad

Ponticum' inc: Pontice qui nunquam futuis sed pollice leua (Mart 9.41); 'Ad Uxorem Conquerentem Quod Pueros Pedicaret' inc: Deprensum in puero tetricis me uocibus uxor (Mart 11.43); (untitled) inc: Alea parua nuces et non damnosa uidetur (Mart 14.19); 143 'In Pamphilum' inc: Praecidi gaudes praecisus pamphile ploras (Mart 4.48); 'Ad Bassum' inc: Arrigis ad uetulas fastidis Basse puellas (Mart 3.76); 'Ad Gurgulianum' inc: Munera quod senibus uiduisque ingentia mittis (Mart 4.56); 'Ad Posthumium' inc: Esse quid hoc dicam quod olent tua basia mirram (Mart 2.12); 'Ad Gallum' inc: Vt patiar moechum rogat uxor galle: sed unum (Mart 3.92); 'Ad Laufellam' inc: Vis futui nec uis mecum Laufella lauari (Mart 3.72); 143v 'De Thelesino Ad Bithinicum' inc: Dum coleret puros pauper Thelesinus amicos (Mart 6.50); 'Ad Lesbiam' inc: Stare iubes nostrum semper tibi Lesbia penem (Mart 6.23); 'Ad Ruffum' inc: Quaero diu totam Sophroni Ruffe per urbem (Mart 4.71); 'Ad Mathonem' inc: Nil miserabilius Matho pedicone sabello (Mart 6.33); 144 'Ad Neuolam' inc: Mentula qum doleat puero tibi Neuole cultus (Mart 3.71); 'Ad Gallam' inc: Qum tibi sit facies de qua nec foemina possit (Mart 7.18); 'Versus Augusti Vt Aiunt' inc: Trax puer astricto glacie dum ludit in hebro (*PLM* IV 103); 'Mar. Valerii Martialis Epigramma Ad Puerum' inc: Quanta tua est probitas quanta praestantia formae (Mart 8.46); 144v 'Geontii Et Constantii Tumulus' inc: Vos equidem nati caelestia regna uidetis (*CLE* II 1400); 'Antiquissimi Viri Ad Uxorem' inc: Ingratae Veneri spondebam munera supplex (*CLE* II 1301); 'Epitaphium Enii' inc: Aspicite o Ciues senis Ennii imagine formam (Enn apud Cic *Tusc* 1.15.34); 'Eiusdem' inc: Nemo me decoret lacrimis faxitue sepulchrum (two versions of Ennius' epitaph, the first concluding 'Cur? uolito uiuus docta per ora uirum,' the second as in Cic *Tusc* 1.15.34, but reading 'docta' for 'uiuus' in line 2); 'Eiusdem Pacuuii' inc: Adulescens tametsi properas: hoc te saxum rogat (*CLE* I 848);

145-148v poetry of Porcellius Pandonius (1405-?): 145 'Porcelius Conqueritur Ad Dominum Cinthium V.C. Ex Carcere' inc: Cynthius est Titan: tu Cynthius alter ab illo; 145v 'Veggio V.C. Pro Obscenitate Hermophodito (*sic*)' inc: Arca uetus stabat uariis repleta libellis; 146v 'Ad Monanam Pedentem' inc: Nescio quid pauidas sonitus tremefecerit aures; 146v 'Ad Hieronymum adolescentem ingenuum' inc: Quis tibi sydereos turbauit casus ocellos; 147 'Ad Eundem Hieronymum' inc: Hieronyme obstupui lustratum pondere carmen; 147v 'Pyrami et Tisbae Epigramma' inc: Quos habet unus amor quos perdidit ensis et unus; 'Ad Monacum Pediconem' inc: Pasce oculos lasciue manus et comprime: non est; 'Por. Vatis Epitaphium' inc: Qui cecini egregias laudes uatumque ducumque; 'Ad Hiero. Adolesc. ing.' inc: Quid magis inflectat superos pia thura

precesue; 148 'Ad Laurinum Saxum Adol. Ingenuum' inc: Saxea corda geris: nec sunt tibi nomina saxi;

148-155 Series of poems by Panormita and others connected with the issue of the *Hermaphroditus* (cf *Herm* ed F.C. Forberg [Coburg 1824]): 148r 'Persuasio Ad Lecturam Ant. Panormitae' inc: Egregii huc pueri et castae properate puellae; 148v 'Meretrices papienses ad Mediolanum de laudibus Ant. Pan.' (by Maffeo Veggio) inc: Plaudite lenones: meretrices plaudite: uester; 149v 'Epitaphium Antonii Panormitae' (also by Veggio) inc: Insula scylleis contermina flatibus undis; 150v 'Maffei Veggii responsio cuidam aemulo' inc: Destituo illustres uates et suauia fontis; 'Oratio Siue Psalmus Maffei Veggii' inc: Laudate et cuncti laetas (lae. cu. *ac*) effundite uoces; 152 'Maffei Veggii ad Andream pisanum' inc: Pulchra Panormigenae perlegi scripta poetae; 152v 'Ant. Panor. in egregiam ado. Elisiam uirginem pudicam' inc: Elisia auricomas inter celeberrima nymphas; 153 'Ad Lamolam Per Panor.' inc: Desine me placida uerbis abducere terra;

155-163 'Libellus Iouiani Pontiani in quo alloquitur suspiria et lacrimas rogans ut deferat querelas suas ad Cinnamam puellam' (= J.J. Pontanus *Parthenopaeus*, first version; after the title of each the numbering in the later version, as printed by J. Oeschger [Bari 1948], is given in parentheses): 155 inc: O Iocunda mei suspiria nuntia cordis (1.20); 155v 'Quod amor qui aliis suauis est sibi durus sit' (1.22) inc: ( )landiciis amor et suco mollior omni; 'Ad Balbum sodalem de munere libelli editi per Ant. Panor.' (not in revised version) inc: Delicias siculi mitto tibi Balbe poetae; 156v 'Ad uicinos pro custodia puellae' (1.30) inc: Vicini moneo bene ac pudici; 157 'Indignatio contra puellam' (1.23) inc: Pauxillum quod amas me Cynama qum bene uelle; 'De uehementia amoris' (1.21) inc: Quem me cogit amor quicquam male dicere de te; 'Deprecatio ad deam noctem' (1.7) inc: Vox amoris conscia quae furenti; 157v 'Ad Cinnamam Puellam' (1.9) inc: Quid mihi tam multas proponis Cynnama poenas; 158v 'Ad Perillam' (1.31) inc: O solatiolum meum Perilla; 'Ad Cinnamam' (1.24) inc: Da mihi basiolum mea Cynnama quale furenti; 159 'In malum poetam quem mutato nomine Vtricellum uocat' (1.32) inc: Non sunt carmina sed cacationes; 'Ad Laurentium Minatum sodalem qui falso scripserat puellam languere' (not in revised version) inc: Parce precor Minate mecum contemnere amorem; 159v 'In Antoninum qui suam puellam leserat' (1.29) inc: Antonine cynedule; 160 'Ad probitatem suae puellae' (1.33) inc: Irata est quotiens mihi puella; 'Quod in amore plus ei amari sit quam dulcedinis' (omitted) inc: Multa in amore meo sunt gaudia: multa uoluptas; 160v 'Ad Cinnamam quae misereatur sui' (omitted from revision) inc: Haec quoniam lacrimulis impones Cynnama nomen; 'Ad Minatium de misero discessu suo ab oculis puellae'

(omitted) inc: Quam mihi difficilis uita est Miniate futura; 'Cui donaturus sit suam columbam' (1.5) inc: Cui uestrum niueam meam columbam; 161 'Quod uehementia amoris pereat' (1.19) inc: Ecce nouum nobis indicit Cypria bellum; 162 'Antonii Panor. inuitatio ad risum' (1.27) inc: Antonii decus ellegantiarum; 'Ad animum suum' (not in revised version) inc: Quid faciam mi anime: ecquid consulis ut faciam nunc; 162v 'Ad musam quod deosculetur Petrum Compatrem sodalem ante alios dilectum' (1.26) inc: Sexcentas modo basiationes; 'Ad se ipsum exhortatio ad nouos amores' (1.25) inc: Quingentas solitus qum sis flagrare puellas; 163 'Ad Iulium sotium' (1.34) inc: Iuli pars animae secunda nostrae;

163-193v Porcelius Pandonius *Libri Carminum* 1-4 (according to the titles of the 'Cod. Florent. J IX 10' of Cremona) 163 'Ad Leonellum Ferrariae Marchionem' inc: Accipe pyeridum princeps Leonelle mearum; 164 'Leonardo Aretino' inc: Quam tibi largitur uates Aretine tabellam; 164v 'Armipotentis Bracii epithaphion' inc: Qui fuit indomitus bello Perusinaque rexit; 'Memoria temporis quo urbis Romanae iuuenes Eugenium ab Vrbe pontificem pepulerere (*sic*)' inc: Presulis imperium pepulit romana iuuentus; 165 'Ad musas de Veggii Laude' inc: Pandite thespiades helicona rigate poetam; 'Veggio Vati cl. Lyricum' inc: Sunt qui diuitiis putant; 165v 'Francisco patauino uirorum humanissimo' inc: Nescio quid nobis celsa Saturnus ab arce; 166v 'Ad Carolum Aretinum' inc: Carole qui ueteres aequas modulamine Vates; 167 'Ad eundem Lyricum' inc: Aretine decus Delphici Apollinis; 167v 'Ioanni sororio suo optimo' inc: Qui petis ut sacram germane reuertar in urbem; 'Ad Eundem' inc: (D)eserto intraui Baiarum littore puppim; 168v 'Poggio Flor. Oratori Cla.' inc: Plaude legens musas: orator maxime Poggi; 'Hieronymo adolescenti ingenioso' (cf f 147v) inc: Quid inflectat superos pia thura precesue; 'Aurispae siculo Vati Cla.' inc: Aurispa o siculae gentis celeberrime uates; 169 'Canopa Seraphino uiro humanissimo' inc: Optata Seraphin rigidae carituras aEbinae (*sic*); 'Terentius Vrbi sceleratae' inc: Iam nomen cecinere meum ueteresque nouique; 169v 'Reuerendissimo in christo P. et D. d. Franc. sancte ro. ecclesiae presbitero card. ac summi pont. Camerario' inc: Sacra coronatae dudum conscripta columnae; 170 'De ortu Metelli perusino ad patrem' inc: Gratulor unanimes concordia fila sorores; 'Hieronymo miro ingenio adolescenti' (cf f 147) inc: Hieronyme obstupui Lustratum pondere carmen; 170v 'Suadet ut uelit operam dare carminibus' inc: Simplex propositum simplex tibi causa modusque; 'Ordo ad dandam lauream Ciriaco Anconitano' inc: Claustra Medusei iam concrepuere caballi; 171v 'Ciriaco anconitano Vati Cosmographoque unico' inc: Ciriace altiloquos inter celebrande poetas; 'Vt omnes Vates Laure Ciriaci interesse uelint' inc: Ite simul uates fiant solemnia nostro; 'In

laudem Ebiniae perpulchrae puellae' inc: Quae fuerunt atra dudum caligine septa; 'Florae laus' inc: Qui legitis Floram misero faueatis amanti; 173 'In Eandem' inc: Desine me blandis accendere Flora loquelis (followed by the subscription, 'Laurearum finit liber primus'); 'Noua fabula de mutatione Licoris puellae Hemoniae in auem sui nominis' inc: Mestitiae luctus pater me dicere causas; 174 'Lauris ethruria Cinisio adolescenti' inc: Salue aeterne puer et nostri gloria secli; 174v 'Malacarnae Amico Suo' inc: Miraris semel ante oculos habuisse uolentem; 'Laus Ebinae' inc: Quando mihi arrides subeunt mea numina musae; 'Ad Michaelem in aduersitate solatium' inc: Gessimus aduersam sortem tulimusque uel egre; 175 'Cai fontis senensis celeberrimi laus et ortus' inc: Fonte sub hoc uitreo soli tibi cognita phebe; 'Cla. ducis armipotentis Sfortiae epitaphium' inc: Hic animis miraque animi uirtute fideque; 'F. de Vlmis uiro celebri' inc: Alme tibi ordeolus nitidos tumefecit ocellos; 175v 'Reuerendissima uirgo non uult nubere imperio neque graeco neque homini seni' (Walther 20876) inc: Vult pater ut iungar danao romana marito; 'Ad Afram' inc: Vult futui quotiens irascitur Afra marito; 176 'Aliter' *del pc*) Pirami et Tisbes Epigramma' (cf f 147v) inc: Quos habet unus amor quos perdidit ensis et unus; 'Aliter' inc: Quos amor audaces saeuosque sub arbore fecit; 'F(rancisco) S(fortiae) Vicecomitum ducumque cla.' inc: Aipeream (*sic*) quencunque iuuat spectare figuram; 'Seraphino uiro humanissimo' inc: Qui nihil est desitque nihil mihi poscitat aurum; 'In cupidinem' inc: Saeuus amor certis aurata cuspide telis; 'D. Nicolai de Vrsinis Venetiarum prioris' inc: Vrsina de gente satus Nicola: sepulcro; 176v 'Aliter' inc: Natus ab Vrsina Nichola propagine in urna; 'In Cesium Rusticum et detractorem' inc: Cesius est Vati qui detrahit: accipe obesum; 'Ant. panor. uiro. clar.' inc: Munus ab unanimi placida cum mente pusillum; (untitled) inc: Quascunque aspicitis mira nouitate figuras; 'Cla. artium et medicinae doctori p(etro) de Valle Canzelario almae Vrbis perpetuo Comiti palatino et summi pont. philosophyco' inc: Siste qui ad tumulum flexisti lumina: busto; 177 'Ludouico narnensi' inc: Salue honor o iuuenum quos nostra haec parturit aetas; 'Ad eundem Liricum carmen' inc: Lodouice animi maxima pars mei; 178 'In Arisbam Cocum et medicum' inc: Tonsor eras merito qum sis modo factus aliphtes; 'Magistro Thomae de Sarzano patri integerrimo de uita beata' inc: Scribere gesta ducum nocturna in luce parabam; 178v 'Artium et medicinae doctori magistro Nicolao Fulignati' inc: Physicae Fulginas inter celeberrime patres; 'Purgat se libellus quod tarde ad dominum suum redierit' inc: Parce precor tarde si ad te liber ipse reuertor; 'Flauio Vati Historicoque Cl.' inc: Ad uigiles quamuis annales scribere Flaui; 179 'Bartolo optimo ingenio adolescenti' inc: Bartole

qui tantos turbata mente furores; 'Ad scabellum quod ob latos pedes obstat amantibus' inc: Importuna grauis nostroque inimica furori; 'Ad fenestram Lauridis' inc: O oculis medicina meis o pectoris ingens; 'Marianae Senensi matronae ornatissimae laus' inc: Seu canat aut festas ducat Mariana choreas; 'In laudem Cinthiae uirginis' inc: Cantent horeades et cantent carmina nymphae; 'Cynthia Blandusino adolescenti' inc: Dulcis erat Paphius et longe bellus Apollo; 'Blandusinus Cynthiae' inc: Sit tibi cura mei ne me patiare relictum; 'In graeculum mendicum' inc: Doctus es et graio et doctus sermone latino; 'Pro mensae apparatu' inc: Ite alacres pueri dubiamque apponite mensam; 179v 'Vt eatur coenatum' inc: Coenandi iam tempus adest: nam nuntia sani; 'Lasciuia ioco facta' inc: Hanc quaecunque domum mulier speciosa subibit; 'In solis diuitibus esse fidem' inc: Parua fides danda est uati cui quantula res est; 'In Lurconem B. suis carminibus detrahentem' inc: Sic tibi sanguineo uellantur uiscera fundo; 'Cynthiae Lauridis Lausiuae' inc: Seu uelis dici Lauris seu Cynthia mauis; 'Florae epigramma' inc: Moestas post lacrimas percussaque pectora acerbo; (title omitted) inc: Qui merui e templo scelerum grauitate repelli; 'Gadae puellae perpulchrae luctus' inc: Gaudia nulla meos poterunt superare dolores; 180 'Eiusdem Virginis epigramma' inc: Hic Gada sum tuscas inter celeberrima nymphas; 'Ad sacras pierides de serto laureo dando Vati Leonardo Datho' inc: Ite alacres frontemque Dathi circundate lauro; 'In Lippam procacem' inc: Lippa licet facies tibi sit: licet ora Dianae; 180v 'Laurea Palauicini uiri cl.' inc: Te sine deductam portusque relinquere classem; 'In ignorantem pomposum' inc: Si tibi massa cadit cadat et tumor oris et omnis; 'Francisco Castelligne' inc: O cui uati (*sic*) honor cure est (est cure *ac*) et phama salusque; 'In Lemni ceruum' inc: Dum tua ramosae pubescunt cornua fronti; 181 'Philelpho Vati cl.' inc: Tardior eoas Phoebus remeabat in oras; 'Hieronymo adolescenti optimo' inc: Quantus honos erga me et amor reuerentia quanta est; 181v 'In inuidos et indoctos' inc: Hos duo mordebunt infesto dente libellos; 'In Iuntam adolescentes omni uitio labefactantem' inc: Iunta lues pestis et corruptela iuuentae; 'In monachum colleatum' inc: Monache cui pendent colei sine penne trilibres; 182 'Qua ratione indocti habentur in urbe doctissimi' inc: Vis Romae fieri rhetor: uis alter Apollo; 182r-v 'Magnifico Viro D. Ioanni de Mileto pontificis Eugenii Soldano Faelicitatem dicit ex carceribus tetris' inc: O genus antiquum generosa e prole Mileti; 183 'Seraphino uiro humanissimo' inc: Scripsimus hic Seraphin potius sermone soluto; 'Ad eundem uatem ex tetris carceribus' inc: Ante meos oculos te musae et delphicus ille; 183v 'Laurentio gnato suo dulcissimo' inc: Laure animi pars magna mei mea dulcis imago; 184 'Cla. insignique ex equestri ordine

militi D. Stephano portio' inc: Ecquid eris nostri miles sine parte libelli; 'Domino Mariano portio protonotario apostolico' inc: Quod nimis indulges praesul Mariane poesi; 184v 'Illu. Senatori almae urbis D. Eustasio gritti' inc: Qui regis illustrem tanta pietate senatum; 185 'In Carpenitanum et Claudum' inc: Carpenitane duos turpissima forma duosque; 'Familiae Ioannis belli Laus' inc: Bella parens Belli est et coniunx bellula bella; 'Cynthio romano Vati ac Oratori cla.' inc: O decus o linguae romanae gloria Cynthi; 'Sub insigni D. Cardinalis S. Angeli de Cesarinis' inc: Magnificum insigne hoc aboleat pene uetustas; 185v 'Aliter sub eodem' inc: Quae sublata uides insignia quaeque refecta; 'Aliter' inc: Hoc est cardinea uirtute insigne refectum; 'Quid perturbet Osmi studia' inc: Non tua Lemniacus nec foemina discolor Osme; 'In quendam inuidum et fortunatum' inc: Inuide fortunam increpitas dominamque potentem; 186 'Epigramma puellae perpulchrae' inc: Quae fueram latias inter celebrata puellas; 'Sub insigni pauli imperialis ciuis genuensis almae Vrbis Senatoris immeritissimi in capitolio' inc: Aspicite egregii ciues quo duce senatum; 'In Simoniacum iudicem et scelestum' inc: Cretice uel ceues uel nummis porrigis aures; 186v 'In discipulum mendacem et foedifragum' inc: Non sat erat superos: nisi me quoque fraude petiisses; 'Epigramma insepulti hominis' inc: Quisquis adest bibula nuper tumulatus arena; 187 'Donatur cedron impuro homini quae uertat male' inc: Satis odoratam sub iniquo sydere Cedron; 'Affrae laus quae deas uincit et mulieres' inc: Lumina que furto quereris tibi rapta Cupido; 'Exigit ab amico ut seruet fidem' inc: Tempus adest seruare pater promissa fidemque; 187v 'In pedantem qui uatem auis et patrum auxilio uerberatur' inc: Non mea uexares tam densa grandine uictor; 'Cl. principi D. Latino Vrsino marcensi archiepiscopo et praesuli praestantissimo de bonis sibi tyrannice ablatis' inc: Vrsino proles artissia sanguine faustum; 188 'Epigramma' (also on f 179v) inc: Qui merui e templo scelerum grauitate repelli; 'Relligiossimo uiro fratri Bernardino utilissimo predicatorum' inc: Spirat adoranti diuinaque uerba loquenti; 188v 'Cynthio uiterbiensi mansueto iuueni' inc: Deseris aeternae sublimia moenia Romae; 'In uxorem Scythici turpissimam' inc: Vxor erat scythici qua non est uillior alga; 189 'In Samonem uates clarissimos summa praesumptione et nimia temeritate lacessentem' inc: Pace deum soboles laeta est: ego pace fruebar; 190v 'Epigramma Sammonis hominis mollissimi ubi ipse mortuus de se loquitur' inc: Monstrum hominum infoelix hic sum nunc foemina: nunc uir; 191v 'Laurentio Valla Vati et Oratori Clar.' inc: Dignus es ut claros inter celebrere poetas; 'Liber quintus incipit ad Cl. Principem Ferrariae Leonellum Marchionem estensem' inc: Cogimur inuiti quarto dare nostra labori; 192 'Ad Musas' inc: Carminis este duces et nostrum ornate libellum;

'Obsecrat Valerium ut aut tacere faciat aut corrigere Varronem freneticum' inc: Varro tulit nugas magno fabricata labori; 193 'In freneticum pomposum qui qum omnia habere putet nihil habet' inc: Solus habere putas libros epigrammata solus; 193v 'In Liconem simulatorem' inc: Vane Lycon quid me insimulas fallacibus ausis; 'In Sisiphonem qui ob diuitias insaniuerat' inc: Mentis eras compos Sisiphon sine mente uideris;

194-214v poems of various authorship, many anonymous: 194 'Baptistae Guarini de austro flante ad D. d F. Reuerendissimum Ferrariae Praesulem' inc: Mos fuit antiquis in carmina poscere uires; 196 'Epitaphium in Leonellum principem Ferrariae' inc: Hoc decus Hesperiae Leonellus Marchio gentis; 'Threnos in eundem' inc: Pallas et aurata testudine pulcher Apollo; 'Tetrasticon in Borsium Ferrariae Marchionem' inc: Ipse tuas laudes toto memoratus in orbe; 'Epitaphium in Lazarum marchionem de malaspinis' inc: Gente Malaspina deducens Lazarus ortum; 196v 'Epithalamium in nuptiis honestissimae ac pudicae Virginis Flordemiliae Guarinae' inc: Princeps magnorum laudes transgresse parentum; 198 'De uentis cardinalibus ad Guizardum Siluestrinum' inc: Perlege queso rudis monumenta Guizarde laboris; 198v 'Ordo Guarineorum scholarium suo Ven. praeceptori Guarino s.p.d.' inc: Sat iam praetorito (*sic*) nostras lassauimus aures; 200 'Mercurius' inc: Sum deus alatis qui cruribus aethera carpo; 'In Cerberum magistrum ludi epitaphion' inc: Cerbere grammatica quondam praeceptor in arte; 201 'In eundem' inc: Cerbere dire caue ne te Tirinthius heros; 'Titi Strozi ad annulum a puella sua dono sibi datum' inc: Annule dulce mihi dilectae munus amicae; 'Responsio de annulo Eruditissimo Tito Strocio dono data' inc: Legimus o Vates tua carmina carmina phoebo; 205 'In cl. matronam D. Andreolam S.D. Nicolai papae Quinti ac Reuerendissimi D. Philippi Cardinalis Bononiensis genitricem epitaphium' inc: Cuius puniceum proles gerit una galerum; 'Epigramma uel apotheosis in eandem' inc: Vos quibus est humilem concessum degere uitam; 206v 'Disticon de tribus generibus telorum' inc: Gessa ferunt galli: macedum sunt tela Sarissae; 'De officio trium parcarum' inc: Tres humana simul dispensant facta sorores; 'Ad Blasium Manfredum' inc: Super occasus adeunte phoebo; 207 'Ad Carolum podacatharum Cyprium' inc: Cum sis ingenio Carole uiuido; 208 'Tribrachus mutinensis ad philippum Tiphernum in Gregorium Tiphernum' inc: Legimus carmen celebris Tipherni; 208v 'Tribrachus mutinensis in Martinum phileticum incipit' inc: Plurimi semper tua teque feci; 209v 'Gregorius Tiphernus ad illustrissimum Ludouicum Mantuae Marchionem incipit' inc: Cultor o uatum studiose princeps; 210 'Idem Gregorius Tiphernus in petrum bombellum medicum suum optimum incipit' inc: Petre bombelli genuit propinqua; 210v 'Ad Virginem Mariam Dicolos Tetrastrophos Engonomiasticos Martini Philetici Incipit Oda' inc: Nupta

caelesti pia uirgo patri; 212-214v 'Dicolos tetrastrophos Martini philetici ad Bissarium Cardinalem graecum incipit' inc: Forte qum doctae colerent sorores

Of the three manuscripts that contain this collection, Harley 2574 has preserved the most. Leiden 0.13 ends at the second epitaph for Leonello d'Este (inc: Pallas et aurata testudine; f 196 here), Brescia A.VII.7 at 'Ad Carolum podacatharun Cyprum' (inc: Cum sis ingenio; f 207 here). The fact that the additional poems are also in lyric metres strongly suggests that they are an integral part of the sylloge and not a chance addition; therefore Harley 2574 is not likely to be a copy of Brescia A.VII.7, as suggested by Thomson and Fischer. All three manuscripts might derive from an original in the possession of Giovanni Aurispa (above, chapter 6). This is the 'codex Harleianus' cited by Burman.

Swoboda 10; Fischer 23 (62 Hanslik); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1808) II 701; C. Dionisotti '"Juvenilia" del Pontano' in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* (Verona 1964) II 181-206; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 49 (50-1)

59 London, British Library Harley 2778

Italy, s xv (Ferrara ca 1450-75: de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 277x155 (180x85) mm: iv+112+ii leaves: ruled on verso with a dry point: 29 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}10^{10}$, 11^{4} (-3, 4): vertical catchwords, also a letter/number combination (indicating gathering and folio) that appears with the catchword, on the facing first folio of each gathering, and throughout the first half of each gathering. Some rubricated titles executed either by the scribe or by a contemporary hand: simple blue or red initials for poems: illuminated initials with vine-stem decoration on ff 1, 13v, 37v, 55, 72: at bottom of f 1 a wreath containing the arms of the Strozzi family surrounded by scroll-work border with flowers, leaves, and gold discs. Red calf binding, s xix. 2nd f inc: Non sic leucippis

Contents 1-71v Propertius, beginning without title ('Propertius' added by a later hand) (13v Book 2 begins; 37v Book 3 begins; 55 Book 4 begins; 71v Propertius ends); 72-112v Catullus

Dr de la Mare has informed me that the same scribe also wrote Abbey 3773 (a Martial copied for Matthias Corvinus), Bodl Canon Class Lat 45, Brit Libr Add 25449, Vienna Nationalbibl 111, and former Dyson Perrins MS 81. An early owner (s xvi?) has left his name on f 2 ('Ego alexander branchaleonus').

Swoboda 11; Fischer 23-4 (64 Hanslik); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* II 711; Wright *Fontes Harleiani* 82, 416; Alexander and de la Mare (with colour plate D, plate LVIIb); Thomson n 50 (50-1)

60 London, British Library Harley 5246

Italy (northern?), s xv (second half): single humanistic hand (which has also added citations of Greek to the margins). Paper: watermarks of 1) a crown, not adequately visible; 2) bull's head with ornaments, similar to Briquet 14862 or 14874: 214x150 (140x70) mm: iii+88+iii leaves (flyleaves i and vi are modern and of paper, ii and v older and of paper; iii and iv are a legal document on parchment dated 1385 concerning a donation of property to the monastery of St Alexander in Piacenza by one Bertalotus, signed by the notary Iohannes Coruus for another notary, Leonardus Berardus): ruled with a dry point, verso only: 24 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}6^{10}$, $7\text{-}8^{12}$: catchwords bottom centre. Rubricated titles: simple red initials as far as f 36v. Modern binding. 2nd f (= f 4) inc: Nudus amor forme

Contents 3-86v 'Aurelii propertii Nautae monobiblos' (18 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae ad Mecenatem liber secundus'; 47 'Aurelii propertii Nautae Liber tertius'; 66v 'Aurelii propertii nautae liber quartus'; 86v 'Finis.

> Hoc tibi sume pater transcriptum Paule uolumen
> Quod tibi perpetuum nostri fore pignus amoris
> Obsecro, materia quando sunt uatis erotes.
> Ερῶσ παντὰ νικᾶ: Amor omnia uincit.
> Petrarcha de Propertio
> Dubium Romanus an umber

[To this a sixteenth-century hand has added 'Vmber erat, uarieque minax et blandus amicae' as well as repeating 'hoc tibi sume pater' after 'uatis erotes'.]); 87-88 blank (with *probationes*)

Some of the daring interpolations of this copy are discussed in chapter 8. The Harley catalogue reads 'summe' for 'sume' in the subscription and understands Pope Paul II as the dedicatee, but the manuscript clearly reads 'sume.' Folio 2 is full of notes and *probationes*, including the name 'Comardus' (?), 'Belea' (in both Roman and Greek letters)' 'Iacobus,' and 'D.I.' (?). There are numerous citations of Greek in the margins written by the scribe (authors and works include Homer, Herodotus, Isocrates, and the *Batrachomyomachia*).

Swoboda 11; Fischer 24 (63 Hanslik); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* III 255

61 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 267 inf

Italy (Padua?) s xv (ca 1453-60): copied by six hands, m1 ff 1-50v, 55v-57v (to 3.16.2), 58-61; m2 ff 51-55; m3 ff 57v (3.16.3-30), 98v; m4 ff 61v-82v; m5 ff 83-96v, 99-101v, 103-104v, 106-117v, m6 ff 102-102v, 105, and annotated by at least four contemporary and later hands (a note in Spanish on f 8v).

Paper: single watermark of three hills within a circle surmounted by a cross: 287x215 (195x120) mm: iv+117 leaves: ruled with a dry point: 25 lines (30 on f 57v): pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{10} (-6), 6^{14} (-1), $7\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{8} (-5, 6), 11^{10}, 12^{10} (-10): vertical catchwords. Some rubricated titles written by scribes or correctors: simple red initials as far as f 5. Original binding of bare wooden boards; formerly one clasp. 2nd f inc: Crede mihi non

Contents 1-82v 'Incipit Propertii Liber' m1: 'Sexti aurelii propertii nautae umbri elegiarum uel monobiblos' m2 (15 'Incipit liber ii ad moecenatem' m2; 43 'Sexti propertii aurelii naute poetae Vmbri elegiarum Liber iii de suo libro' m2; 63v 'Sexti propertii aurelii nautae poetae umbri elegiarum ad Cynthiam Liber quartus et ultimus. Ad hospites' m2; 82v '*Sexti* Propercii *naute* Aurelii poete finis. Laus Deo. *Amen*. τελοσ' [the italicized words and the Greek have been added by m2 to the subscription written by m4]);

83-113v *Appendix Vergiliana*, selections: 83-85 *Moretum*; 85v-96v *Priapea* and *Catalepton*; 97-98 blank (98v additions by m2 to a leaf left blank by the scribe: inc: Clio gesta canens transactis tempora reddit [*PLM* III 243] inc: Nomina septenum sapientum Graecia cantat [Guarini Veronensis, de septem sapientibus]); 99-99v *Copa*; 99v-100 *Vir bonus*; 100-101 *De rosis nascentibus*; 101v *De est et non*; 102-110 *Culex*; 110-113v *Dirae* (*Lydia*);

113v-115v Carmina uergiliana: 113v inc: Nocte pluit tota redeunt spectacula mane (*PLM* IV 156); 114 inc: Meonium quisquis romanus nescit homerum (*PLM* IV 188); inc: Si memini fuerant tibi quatuor helia dentes (Mart 1.19); inc: Sus iuuenis serpens casum uenere sub unum (*PLM* IV 158); inc: Rumpitur inuidia quidam clarissime iuli (Mart 9.97); 114v inc: Tristia fata tui dum fles in daphnide flacci (*PLM* IV 187); inc: Iuppiter in caelis caesar regit omnia terris (*PLM* IV 160); inc: Temporibus laetis tristamur maxime caesar (*PLM* IV 183); 115 inc: Iusserat haec rapidis aboleri flammis (*PLM* IV 182); inc: Ergone supremis potuit uox improba uerbis (*PLM* IV 179);

116-117v Epitaphia uergiliana: 116 inc: Tytiron et segetes cecini maro et arma uirumque (*PLM* IV 120); inc: Virgilius iacet hic qui pascua uersibus edit (*PLM* IV 121); inc: Qui pecudes qui rura canit qui proelia uates (*PLM* IV 121); inc: Carminibus pecudes et rus et bella canendo (*PLM* IV 121); inc: Mantua mi patria est nomen maro carmina siluae (*PLM* IV 121); Qui siluas et agros et proelia uersibus ornat (*PLM* IV 121); inc: Pastorum uates ego sum cui rura ducesque (*PLM* IV 121); inc: A siluis ad agros ab agris ad proelia uenit (*PLM* IV 121); 116v inc: Buccolica expressi et ruris praecepta colendi (*PLM* IV 121); inc: Hic data uirgilio requies qui carmine dulci (*PLM* IV 122); inc: Pastores cecini docui qui cultus in agris

(*PLM* IV 122); inc: Conditus hic ego sum cuius modo rustica musa (*PLM* IV 122); inc: Mantua me genuit calabri rapuere tenet nunc (Donatus *Vita Vergilii* 36); inc: Prima mihi musa est sub fagi tityrus umbra (*PLM* IV 128); 117 inc: Hoc iacet in tumulo uates imitator homeri (*PLM* IV 128); inc: Buccolica ausonio primus qui carmine feci (*PLM* IV 128); inc: Tytire te latio cecinit mea fistula uersu (*PLM* IV 129); inc: Romuleum sicula qui fingit carmen auena (*PLM* IV 129); inc: Qui pastorali peragrauit menala musa (*PLM* IV 129); 117v inc: Hec tibi uirgili domus est eterna sepulto (*PLM* IV 129); inc: Primus ego ausonio pastorum carmina uersu (*PLM* IV 129); inc: Sicanius uates siluis ascreus in aruis (*PLM* IV 130); inc: Quisquis es extremi titulum lege carminis hospes (*PLM* IV 130); inc: Virgilio mihi nomen erat quem mantua felix (*PLM* IV 130)

The suggestion that the manuscript may be Paduan in origin rests upon the observation that it is in part a copy of Venice Bibl Naz Marc Fondo antico 443 (1912), dated 1453, and may be the manuscript from which descend Deventer I 82, Leiden Q.117, and Ottob lat 1514, which are all Paduan copies of ca 1460. According to M.D. Reeve in *Maia* 28, the *Appendix* text also shows Paduan connections. The inscription in an early hand on the front cover, 'Propertius Guarini,' must be based upon a misunderstanding of f 98v, where a poem composed by Guarino is followed by the name 'Guarinus,' which has been wrongly taken as a copyist's signature. The volume was given to the Ambrosiana by Ottavio Ferrari, professor of rhetoric at Padua (with a monument in S Antonio).

Swoboda 23; Fischer 33 (ψ Hanslik); *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Trezzano 1973) I 543; Sabbadini 354; id *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (Florence 1905) I 126 note 3

62 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana F 90 sup

Italy (northern), s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand, with scanty notes in two other hands. Paper: various watermarks, 1) three hills; 2) a lion, similar to Briquet 10501; 3) a crown, very close to Briquet 4732 (Modena 1450): 211x156.5 (147x83) mm: vi+92 leaves: ruled on verso with a dry point: 23 lines: pentameters not indented. i^6, $1\text{-}7^{12}$, 8^8: horizontal catchwords. Rubricated titles: initials planned, not executed. Binding perhaps original, of yellowish-green cloth over wood; remains of a clasp. 2nd f inc: ( )VID iuuat ornato

Contents iv-iv Italian sonnets, added s xvi, presumably autograph (i^v 'Ant. Boatto' inc: Alto Francesco poi ch'l sempiterno; ii^r 'P.D.L.' inc: Per far le lodi vostre eterne (sempre *vl*) e vive; iii^r 'B.Z. patauus' inc: Lasso se havessi un si lodato stile; iii^v 'B.Z.' inc: Traverso mio cussi

doglioso e solo; iv^{r} 'P.O.' inc: Si per darvi signor fama immortale); 1-90 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Feliciter Incipit' (16v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Mecenatem' 47 Book 3 begins; 69 'Explicit Liber Tertius Incipit Quartus'; 90 'τελοσ. Explicit Monobyblos Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Cyntiam'); 90v-92v blank, with *probationes* including notes in Hebrew (on f 92v Propertius 1.12.12 is cited with 'fluxit' in place of 'fugit')

The first sonnet on f i^{v} may be addressed to Francesco Sforza II. The manuscript belonged to the sixteenth-century bibliophile Vincenzo Pinelli, whose library Antonio Olgiati, acting for Cardinal Borromeo, purchased for the Ambrosiana in 1603.

Swoboda 23; Fischer 33-4 (74 Hanslik); Sabbadini 358-9; A. Rivolta *Catalogo dei codici pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana* (Milan 1933) 19

63 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 34 sup

Italy (northern), s xv (second half): single humanistic cursive hand, annotated by several hands (one citing Volscus 1488). Paper: single watermark of a wagon (similar to Briquet 3527): 217x146 mm (145x91 mm ruled, 130x91 mm written, since the last three ruled lines of each page are never used): 88+i leaves (the flyleaf is half of a parchment bifolium pasted down inside the back cover, taken from a fifteenth-century copy of Terence): ruled with a dry point on verso: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{8}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: no initials executed. Original stamped leather binding with remains of two clasps. 2nd f inc: Nudus amor formae

Contents 1-86 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Foeliciter Incipit' (16 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Secundus Incipit' 45 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Tertius Incipit'; 66v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Tertius Explicit Quartus Incipit'; 86v Propertius ends); 87-88 blank

This manuscript may also have belonged to Pinelli; while it contains no explicit statement of ownership, it does contain on the front pastedown a cursive 'V' such as is found in the two certainly Pinellian copies of Propertius in the Ambrosiana.

Swoboda 23; Fischer 34 (50 Hanslik); Sabbadini 357-8

64 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 46 sup

Italy, s xv (Ferrara, ca 1450-75: de la Mare): single very elegant humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 235x159.5 (155x98) mm: i+145+i leaves: ruled in ink, both sides of page: 30 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}2^{10}$, $13\text{-}14^{8}$, 15^{10} (-10): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: poems begin with simple blue or red initials: on ff 13, 53 there are illuminated initials

on a square ground of red, blue, or green: ff 1, 71, 106 illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration forming a modest frieze in the margin. Original binding of stamped leather over wood; formerly two clasps. 2nd f inc: Nec phrygium falso

Contents 1-69 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Tullum Foeliciter Incipit' (13 'Propertii Aurelii naute liber secundus incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 36 Book 3 begins; 53 'Explicit liber tertius. Incipit Quartus'; 69 'τελοσ. Explicit Monoblyblos Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Cynthiam'); 69v-70v Prose and verse miscellany: 69v 'Marcialis coquus de silo italico' inc: Propertii nunquam moritura uolumina sili (Mart 7.63); 'Carmina Diui Cesaris Augusti' inc: Quanta tua est probitas tanta est prestantia formae (Mart 8.46); 'Hic uersus erat in corona regali alexandri' inc: Ortus et occasus; 'Nomina fluuiorum infernalium et officia' inc: Stix acheron lethe (Walther 18652); 70r 'Epitaphium lucretiae' inc: Cum foderet gladio castum lucretia pectus (*PLM* IV 443); 'Versus ficetulae' inc: Cum me ficus alat (Walther 3658); 'Epigramma Caesaris Augusti' inc: In macedum campos ultus iam caesaris umbras (*PLM* V 403); 'Epigramma P. Scipionis Africani' inc: Ille ego sum patriam poeno (*PLM* V 399); 'Neuii Epitaphium' inc: Immortales mortales si foret fas fleri (Gell *NA* 1.24.2); 70v 'Pacuuii Epitaphium' inc: Hic sunt poetae Pacuuii marci ossa (Gell *NA* 1.24.10); Derivation of *Monobyblos* (cf Appendix) inc: Iste propertius est de quo ouidius; 'Bias prienensis' inc: Nil sibi nil melius uita (Walther 11793); 'Tales milesius' inc: Foelix qui docilis natura est (Walther 6346); 71-104v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 104v 'Aliud epitaphium Tibulli' inc: Sub teneris annis tenerorum luxor amorum; 105-143v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis

This seems to be the earliest of all the manuscripts to contain the derivation of *Monobyblos* and to have it nearest to its original form. The manuscript belonged to Pinelli before entering the Ambrosiana.

Swoboda 23; Fischer 34 (65 Hanslik); Sabbadini 354-9; Rivolta 22-3 [see number 62 above]; Ullman *CP* 4 (1909) 46; Thomson n 56 (50-1)

65 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I 67 sup

Italy (Milan), s xv (ca 1470-80): single humanistic bookhand, with variants and annotations in a contemporary hand (see Pascal below). Parchment: 260x180 (163x103) mm: ii+223 leaves: ruled with ink, both sides of page: 37 lines ruled, 19 written: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}28^{8}$ (the last folio has been pasted down inside the back cover): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: each poem begins with an illuminated initial on a square ground of green, red, or gold with penwork

finials ending in gold discs, each book with a larger version of the same: f 1 is surrounded by a vine-stem frieze adorned with rabbits, *putti*, and, at bottom centre, a wreath with coat of arms (lion on a blue ground, surmounted by an angel with scales and sword): each author begins with a miniature illustrating the text (for Catullus, Lesbia and her sparrow seated in the lap of a large male figure in monkish habit; for Propertius, Amor blindfolded and armed standing on the chest of a supine man in a mountainous landscape [cf 1.1.3]; for Tibullus, a man standing by coffers of gold); initials similar to those of former Abbey 6960 (Milan 1460-70). Modern paperboard binding. 2nd f inc: Et hoc negat

Contents 1-61v Catullus (beginning with 2.1); 62 blank; 62v-170v 'A. aurelii propertii Nautae Monobiblos Liber Ad Cynthiam primus' (81v 'Aurelii propertii Nautae Monobiblos Liber Secundus ad Cynthiam primo ad Mecenatem'; 118 'Aurelii propertii Naute monobiblos Liber Ad Cynthiam tertius et primo ad Callimachum et philetem'; 145 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Monobiblos Liber Ad Cynthiam Quartus'; 170v 'Finis'); 171-223v Tibullus

This is the most sumptuous of a series of three Milanese manuscripts of the 1470s whose text reflects direct acquaintance with the Neapolitanus (the others are Grenoble 549 and Dresden Dc 133).

Swoboda 23; Fischer 34-5 (52 Hanslik); Sabbadini 354-9; R. Cipriani *I codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana* 73-4 (calls the illumination Sienese); C. Pascal 'Scolii properziani' *Bollettino di filologia classica* 11 (1904-5) 40-2; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 57 (50-1)

66 Modena, Biblioteca Estense Camp App 1418 (γ.X.5.30)

Italy (Florence), s xv (second half): single rough humanistic bookhand, with corrections throughout and additions on ff 88-134 attributable to Lorenzo Lippi. Paper: 215x145 mm: 135 leaves: ruled with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}2^{10}$, 3^{12}, 4^{10}, $5\text{-}7^{12}$, 8^{10} (-10), $9\text{-}12^{10}$, 13^{8}: horizontal catchwords in corner. No titles or initials executed by scribe of Propertius, some by the corrector. Original binding of leather, with two clasps still extant.

Contents 1-86v Propertius, beginning without title ('propertii aurelii pro sua cinthia liber incipit' m2) (15v Book 2 begins ['Quod sola cinthia uires et ingenium' m2]; 43 Book 3 begins ['Propertii aurelii naute liber tertius incipit foeliciter' m2]; 63 Book 4 begins ['Propertii aurelii naute liber iiii' m2] 86v 'Finis' ['τελωσ,' 'Finis propertii,' and 'βοιβλοσ του προπερτιου' m2]); 87 blank; 88-99v Anonymous prose tract on the education of women inc: ( )Ompulsus crebro rumore admirabilium uirtutum tuarum; 100-134v 'Leonardus Arretinus de Temporibus suis' (the title has been added by a hand of s xvi

which also annotated the text) inc: ( )Vi per ytaliam homines excaelluerint aetate mea; 135 blank (with ownership note and *probationes*)

On f 135 appears the ex-libris (written in Greek letters) of Lorenzo Lippi de Colle (ca 1440-95), who taught oratory and poetry at Pisa 1473-9 and 1482-5 and translated Oppian. The manuscript is closely related to Riccardiana 633, another late Florentine copy.

67 Modena, Biblioteca Estense Est lat 680 (α.T.9.17)

(This is a miscellaneous codex composed of several unrelated parts; apart from number of folios, descriptive details, unless otherwise stated, apply only to the section containing Propertius.) Italy (Ferrara?), s xv (late): single humanistic cursive hand (same as former Abbey 3242). Paper: watermark of a basilisk, similar to Briquet 2639: 209x158 (145x85) mm: 128 leaves: ruled on recto with a dry point: 23 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}5^{10}$: vertical catchwords, each leaf marked on recto with a letter-number combination indicating gathering and folio. Rubricated titles: no initials executed. Binding of s xix.

Contents 30-79v Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.15.8 (35 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae liber primus finit: Secundus Incipit feliciter ad Maecenatem'; 65v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae liber secundus finit: Tertius incipit feliciter'; 79v Propertius ends *mutilus* at 3.14.32)

Dr de la Mare has observed that the scribe also copied former Abbey 3242, a Ferrarese manuscript of ca 1475 which also contains Propertius. One of the two is probably a copy of the other; both seem to derive from Berlin Diez B Sant 57. The remainder of the manuscript is made up chiefly of humanistic poetry of s xv-xvi, most if not all autograph. It may be of some value to list the contents in full: 1) 3-9 (poems of Antonius Thebaldaeus [?]): 'Ad uinum' inc: Pocula formosae fauces subitura puellae; 'In geniali prandio ad polifistum' inc: Immortale mihi fundas polifiste falernum; 'Argumentum: Deserit aligeri pudibunda cupidinis arma / Lis sit magna licet cum ratione deus' inc: Improbe cum solita careant mea pectora flamma; 'Ad serenissimum maximianum Austriae' inc: Te nihil est maius regno nil maius auito; 'Ad Illustrissimum et magnanimum Herculem estensem ferrariae Ducem inuictissimum' inc: Inclite Dux nostri celeberrima gloria secli; 'De beatricis Imagine' inc: Quis putet hos crines tales qui credat ocellos; 'De eadem' inc: Qui rigidi pars montis eras nunc pulchra puellae; 'Imago' inc: Cum tibi sic placeam quod sim licet aspera tactu; 'De eadem dialogus' inc: Ecquam conspicio? numquid dea cypria? numquid; 'De eadem' inc: Saxea sum Specie Titulo Nolana Beatrix; 'De eadem' inc: Sum lapis et lapidem Spectas

quid Verba moraris; 'De eadem sub nomine Amantis' inc: Unica quae fuerat hunc (*sic*) est mihi Trina Beatrix; 'Hieronymi Strozae infantis Epitaphium' inc: Stroza sub hoc tegeris Felix hieronyme saxo
2) 10-29 (poems of Janus Pannonius [1434-1472]): (conclusion of a poem whose beginning is lost) inc: mut. Omnia tu uicias per te resoluta putrescunt; 'Idem de apro et ceruo' inc: Quantum Iunoni tegeae Calydonue dianae; 'De Stella aestiuo in die uisa' inc: Quodnam hoc tam clara Sidus sub luce refulget; 'Laus andreae mantegnae pictoris patauini' inc: Qualem pellaeo fidum cum rege sodalem; 'Naiadum Italicarum principi diuae feroniae Ianus pano.' inc: Sacri fontis aue mater feronia cuius; 'Ianus febricitans blasio militanti' inc: Dum te Castra tenent pictis fulgentia signis; 'Conquestio de aegrotantibus suis' inc: Ergo ego quae nobis fuerint data tempora uitae; 'Ad animam suam' inc: Mens quae lactiferi niueo de limite Circi; 'Ad Somnum' inc: Cimeria seu ualle iaces seu noctis opacae; 'De se aegrotante In Castris' inc: Castra sequor uates non spicula Castra sequentem; 'Mathias Rex Vngariae Anto. Constantio Vati Italo per Ianum pannonium' inc: Non leuis aonidum Constanti Cura sororum; 'Ad apollinem Cum pedis morbo Cruciaretur' inc: Ardua sacratae recolis seu moenia Cyrrhae; 'In clarissimam matronam d. andreolam nicolai quinti papae matrem' inc: Vos quibus est humilem concessum ducere uitam; 'Epitaphium eiusdem' inc: Cuius puniceum proles gerit una galerum; 'Sigismundo mazono' inc: Ocius ite deae: celeres precor ite camoenae; 'Philippo bibio' inc: Quas tibi pro tanto referemus munere grates (first six lines only, with catchword for next gathering); 3) Propertius (see above); 4) 80 (a single loose sheet) 'Baptista lilianus Antonio Tibaldaeo poetae facundissimo' inc: Antoni aonidum decus sororum; 80v blank; 5) 81 (a single loose sheet) 'Aristophilus Manfredus D. Nicholao Vog.' inc: Personet ensiferi cum non bene prelia martes; 81v blank; 6) 82-85 (a bifolium) 'Ad parthenopeum herculis strozae phalentium' inc: (.....)o quis superum beatiori; 'Ad Rabullum Seruum' inc: Tu qui fidior (Qui fidelior *ac*) omnibus fuisti; 'Quanta sit mortalium in delinquendo Vaecordia' inc: Extremus properat dies nec ullo; 84r-85r blank; 85v (no title) inc: Siquid lector erit doctas (S. er. le. molles *ac*) quod perstrepat aures; 7) 86 (a single loose sheet) 'Ad Magnificum D. Gubernatorem fulginiae et cetera dominum meum singularissimum' inc: O fons iustitiae decusque uatum (signed 'Seruus iacobus I[uris] u[triusque] doctor minimus'); 8) 87 (a single loose sheet) 'Ad M. Petrumbonum Auogarum Sui Lodouici Pictorii Epigramma' inc: Cum medeare meis Petrebone Verende propinquis; 9) 88-89 (poems of Ercole Strozzi) 'Ad Ducem Herculem' inc: Quod geminus serpens: quod aper quod Bellua lerna; 'Ad Eundem' inc: Cum prior Alcides par sit tibi nomine tantum;

'Ad Eundem' inc: Qui Domuit tauros Angues hydramque Suemque; 'Ad Eundem' inc: Si quodcumque hominum cupiet quodcumque Deorum; 89v blank;

10) 90-95 (poems of Giovannantonio Campano [died 1477]) 'Campanus de obitu Pii summi pontificis' inc: Nunc citharam nunc plectra miser Campane reconde; 'Idem de Pio Ponti.' inc: Dum parat adrianum conscendere nauibus aequor; 'Idem' inc: Intumuere uates et equo defessus ad undas; 'Idem cum esset in germania' inc: Romae si non sum fiat germania roma; 'Idem cum in germania esset' inc: Tu sortem miserare meam fugere repulsae; 'Idem Gristo' inc: Griste uates an non? numquid tua prospera uita; 'Idem faccolo' inc: Faccole cui superi Cedunt et gratia tanta est; 'Idem' inc: Iuncta uiro coniunx septem Caterina per annos; 'Idem D. Io. de aragonia' inc: Extra hominum mundique uias extra ultima regni; 'Idem gentili' inc: Nunc gentilis agit nil thusca praesul in urbe; 'Idem' inc: Dat fortuna manus quibus est nocitura secundas; 'Idem cum esset in germania' inc: Hic foeda et pingui digitis haerentia tabe; 'Idem' inc: Durandum tamen est uincit qui durat in armis; 'Idem' inc: Barbara me tellus ut te quoque naso recondet; 'Idem' inc: Phangius expectet pleno Cratere sacerdos; 'Idem de Laurentio et iuliano de medicis' inc: Quid nostri medices thuscum decus aurea laedae; 'Idem de marsylio' inc: Marsylii citharam crispus si tentet apollo; 'Idem' inc: Sola placent quae sunt rarissima Senila uatem; 'Idem' inc: Multos roma uidet diuersa fronte galeros; 'Idem de besarione Cardinali' inc: Nonne uides quantus mihi sit deus alter et omni; 'Idem' inc: Quam mihi piceni sypontia musa perocti; 'Idem' inc: Verum hac prima meo debetur gloria Cosmae; 'Idem' inc: Baccius sumpta cithara per urbem; 'Idem' inc: Vultu quarqualium fusco sed mente serena; 'Idem' inc: Scire etiam cupio quantum nunc platina seuit; 'Idem de domitio' inc: Vnum habuit uatem Verona Domitius illi; 'Idem' inc: An te preteriit qua nunc pomponius arte; 'Idem de Vallensibus' inc: Posse uidentur adhuc martemque iouemque decere; 'Idem' inc: Vna duos olim nobis dedit umbria uates; 'Idem' inc: Nec mihi tam dromo gratus quam Caesar in ore est; 'Idem' inc: Nemo alius cecinit praedura sonantibus arma; 'Idem' inc: Donati uenit in mentem facundia nostri; 'Idem' inc: Sed de landino grauis est et iusta querela; 'Idem' inc: Nos miseri extremos pipere incroceauimus ungues; 'Idem de montano' inc: Vsque adeo extremum malit fugere ille tarentum; 'Idem' inc: Quid de patritio sentis? qui nare madentes; 'Idem' inc: Spellanum inuitat dulci Syrrenula Cantu; 'Idem' inc: Nostra uides quali percurram gaudia lingua; 95v blank;

11) 96-98 untitled (attributed by a note at the end to Antonius Thebaldaeus) inc: Itala terra uale belli diuturnus iniqui; 98 blank; 12) 99-100 untitled inc: Trotte decus legum: pacis sectator et aequi; 100v blank; 13) 101-110 a gathering

from a ms containing a Latin hexameter poem *inc mut* Vt uiridi quotiens ligno celer haeserit ignis *des mut* Horrescit quoque lucanis in saltibus antrum; 14) 111-112 anonymous prose excerpt 'Signa quibus cognoscitur amor Carnalis a spirituali' inc: Primum Signum Carnalis amoris est solum loqui ...; 15) 125-126 letter and reply, without indication of author inc: Sepe plurium miror nec possum non admirari suauissime mi hieronyme ...; 16) 128 (another epigram of Hercole Strozzi, autograph) 'Ad ducem herculem' inc: Iupiter unus aquas: summum regit alter olympum (this is part of the same ms as section 8); 128v blank
Swoboda 23; Fischer 35 (120 Hanslik)

68 Mons, Bibliothèque Municipale 218/109
Italy (Padua?), s xv (ca 1460-70?): single Gothic hand with *bastarda* traits (non-Italian). Paper: 212x140 (135x78) mm: ii+158+ii leaves: ruled with a simple crayon frame: 25-30 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}15^{10}$, 16^{10} (-9, 10): horizontal catchwords bottom corner. Rubricated titles. Modern parchment binding. 2nd f inc: Pollucem cultu
Contents 1-37v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 384-41v Ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 42-84v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 85-150v 'Monobliblos Sexti propercii aurelii naute ad Tullum incipit liber primus foeliciter' (97v 'Summa huius libri Epistule xxi Versus Vii^{c} vii. Propertii Aurelii Naute ad tullum liber primus Explicit / Propertii Aurelii Naute liber secundus Incipit' 122r 'Propertii aurelii naute ad Tullum liber secundus explicit. Summa huius libri Epistule xxvi Versus MCCClxii. Propertii Aurelii Naute ad Tullum liber tercius incipit'; 140v 'Sexti propertii Aurelii Naute liber tercius explicit. Summa huius libri Epistule xxvii Versus viiii^{c} lxxxx. Sexti propertii Aurelii Naute liber quartus Ad Tullum incipit foeliciter'; 150v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute liber quartus et ultimus ad tullum explicit. Summa huius libri Epistule xii Versus Vcccc^{c} lii. Summa totius operis Versuum et epistularum. Epistule lxxxvi. Versus iiii^{m} x. Iste est propertius de quo ouidius Naso in plerisque operibus suis'); 151-8 blank
The titles and summations would in themselves be sufficient to demonstrate the close descent of this manuscript from Paris 7989; there is also present some interpolation from Vicenza G.2.8.12 or a related manuscript.
(n Hanslik); P. Faider and G. Faider-Feytmans *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la ville de Mons* (Gent/Paris 1931) 259-61; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 60 (50-1)

69 Munich, Universitätsbibliothek Cim 22 (Ms 8° 291)
Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460-70 de la Mare): single slanted humanistic bookhand, perhaps attributable to Jacopo

Bracciolini (de la Mare). Parchment: 206x125 (132x60) mm: i+116+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 28 lines: pentameters indented. 1-2^{10}, 3^{8}, 4-5^{10}, 6^{8}, 7-12^{10}: horizontal catchwords bottom centre. Simple rubricated titles: illuminated initials on a square ground of green, blue, or pink with yellow or white penwork: f 1 has a vine-stem frieze at top, left, and bottom with *putti*, rabbits, birds, butterflies, lemons, and vases, with at bottom centre a wreath containing a miniature of two women and a man in a simple landscape (Delia, Nemesis, and Tibullus): f 39 is decorated in a similar but less lavish manner, with a miniature of Amor armed with quiver and bow and leaning upon a spear. Brown leather binding (s xvi?), recently restored, stamped in gold on the front ('Albii Tibulli Elegiarum / Liber I. / Aurelii Propertii Elegiae'); clasps still extant.

Contents 1-37r Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 37v-38v blank; 39-112r 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Monobiblos Elegiarum Liber Primus' (52 'Explicit liber primus: incipit secundus ad Mecennatem'; 76v 'Explicit liber secundus: et Incipit tertius'; 94v 'Explicit liber Tertius Incipit quartus'; 112r 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Vltimus Explicit'); 112v-116 Ps-Ovid *Her* 15

Dr de la Mare has identified several other manuscripts copied by the same scribe, including Abbey 3217 (a psalter with Medici emblems), Göteborg Univ Lat 4 (Terence, perhaps with Medici/Orsini emblems), and a letter of Lorenzo de' Medici to the marquis of Mantua dated 8 March 1469 (Hoepli sale catalogue 23-4 April 1956, lot 13). The text of Propertius derives directly from the medieval copy of Poggio.

Swoboda 3-4 (101 Hanslik)

70 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III' IV. F.19 (267)

Italy (Naples?), s xv (second half): single humanistic cursive hand, annotated by the same. Paper: watermark of a horn, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 285x198 (210x111) mm: iii+165+iv leaves: ruled on verso with a dry point: 35 lines: pentameters indented (except ff 37-65v, 126-129). 1-5^{12}, 6^{10}, 7-10^{12}, 11^{12} (-1), 12-14^{12}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles and initials, not all executed: first letter of a line is sometimes slashed with yellow. Plain parchment binding, s xvii/xviii. 2nd f inc: Vocaret aura (terra *ac*)

Contents iii 'De fortuna et uita prete' inc: Dic Pater auguri quando mea cana senectus: 1-34 Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 34v-36v Verses of one 'Gallesius': 34v 'Gallesius Vates Lamentatur Scabie' inc: Vlterius patiar duras bone iuppiter iras; 35r 'In iudicem pomposum et scelestum.

Idem gallesius' inc: Cretice uel leno potius uel inutile corpus; 'Pictura pulchri pueri ad Petrum Sy. recanatensem' inc: Qui multa uirtute micas qui sanguine claro es; 36v 'Gallesius Preceptor in Eustachium grammaticum maledicum' inc: Audite o iuuenes parnasi templa colentes; 'Idem Vates egregius In principem' inc: Est regere ars magna: magnus conducere ad astra; 37-65v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 65v untitled verses inc: Vult pater ut iungar Danao Romana marito (Walther 20876); 66 blank;

67-125 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Incipit foeliciter': 77 'Propertii naute Aurelii Monobiblos liber primus explicit Incipit secundus foeliciter'; 97 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos liber secundus explicit Incipit eiusdem tertius'; 111v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute monobiblos liber tertius explicit Foeliciter eiusdem quartus incipit'; 125 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Opus Finit Foeliciter τελωσ'; 125v blank; 126-129 Ps-Ovid *Her* 15;

129-165v miscellany of humanistic verses, many connected with Panormita and the *Hermaphroditus*: 129r-v 'Petri grassi Siculi ad bartholam senensem nympham' inc: Gesta ducum celebrent alii: regumque triumphos; 130-144 Panormita *Hermaphroditus*; 144r 'De ortu atque obitu hermophroditi pulex' inc: Quom mea me genetrix grauido gestaret in aluo (Walther 3662); 144v 'Versus auctoris ad guarinum' inc: Quantum romulide sanctum uidere catonem (Walther 15251); 'Versus Guarini ad Autorem' inc: Musarum decus anthoni per secula salue; untitled (by Giovanni Marrasio?) inc: Angeline oculis dedit aurea tela cupido; 'Antonius Panormita' inc: Si qua panormigene luti tibi cura poete est; 145r 'Epithaphium Baptiste: studentis iuuenis' inc: Hic lapis esculeos cineres et membra cohercet; 'Antonio Panormite creduntur' inc: Illa ego partenope bello uexata tot annos; 'Magister P. colomines cecus' inc: Maiorem medium dat primus siue minorem; 'Quare gesta senatus: ac bella scribere nolit' inc: Scilicet etrurii sunt inclita gesta senatus (Walther 17327); 145v 'Anthonii Panormite Elegia ad Lamolam' inc: Desine me placida uerbis abducere terra; 147r 'Oda Mater Francisci pontani ad Panormitam' inc: Panormi nitidum sidus et inclitum; 147v 'Francisci Pontani Conquestus apud Antonium Panor. de largissimis cereris et bacchi muneribus ac Veneris spurciis' inc: Cogere sarcinulas opicos expelle latebris; 150r 'Antonio Panormite Centona: et est responsio ad Satyram Magistri Francisci' inc: Quin age uenales malis francisce penates; 151v 'Antonius Panormita' (= Mart 8.46) inc: Tanta tua est probitas quanta est prestantia forme; 'Idem Antonius Panormita' inc: Quom tibi non possit mimos dat carmina uates; 'Magister petrus lucianus columines ad V. clar. Mat. mal.' inc: Esse tuus cupio meriti si iura subessent; 152r 'Franciscus philerphus ad thoniam tebaldum equitem' inc: Qui famam finxere deam temploque locarint; 152v 'Idem ad Matthaeum Mal.' inc: Scire uelim matthae quibus nunc militat armis; 153v 'Ceruus Donatus summo

pont. pro francisco de fiano' inc: Silua uiret medio multis densissima campo; 154v 'Ad terram misere et cetera' (= *Aen* 2.566-7); 155r 'Idem ad Messanam' inc: Ante superficies fundi spectabitur ethne; 'Idem loquitur de morte et queritur' inc: Si mea cum lachrymis differri funera possent; 'Collutius de signano Ad Iohannem bocatium' inc: Inclite cur uates humili sermone loquutus; 155v 'Franciscus petrarcha Florentinus ad beatam Mariam magdalenam' inc: Dulcis amica dei lachrymis inflectere nostris (Walther 4790); 156r 'Alia oratio christo dedicata' inc: Altipotens rector uerbo qui cuncta creasti; 'De quodam clerico et uxore militis cuiusdam' inc: Militis uxorem clamidis mercede subegit (Walther 11032); 'Versus cuiusdam ad elegiam nympham' inc: Hei mihi ne superi si in te mala forte rogarim; 156v 'Oratio Magistri. Ad Alfonsum Regem' inc: En te alfonse uocant regem dominumque tuentem; 157r 'Ferdinandus Valentinus' inc: Si mea te coniunx misissent fata manere; 'Idem Ferdinandus Valentinus' inc: Quid fortuna meos conaris ludere sensus; 'Idem Ferdinandus Valentinus' inc: Pusio suspendit laqueo se uerna scitarum; 157v 'Versus auctoris' inc: Si quid turpe putas hominem celare laboras; 'Incipit Lactantius De phenice et foeliciter' inc: Est locus in primo foelix oriente remotus; 160 'Cecilii Cypriani De ligno Crucis uersus' inc: Est locus ex omni medius quem credimus orbe (Walther 5721); 161 'Gregorius Tifernius Inquit' inc: Hec meliore lyra maiore hic carmine clio; 163 'Gregorius Tiphernius' inc: Mors tua sit quamquam multis deflenda camille (Walther 11277); 'Idem Gregorius Tiphernius' inc: Ducis apud superos foelicem didace uitam (Walther 4751); 163v 'Porcellius Vates Ad malferitum' inc: Malferite paras festis dare uela diebus; 'Dantes poese siue poete' inc: Iura monarchie superos flegetonta lacusque (Walther 9962); 164r 'Antonius Panormita Coniugi' inc: Parce tuam coniunx fletu quassare iuuentam (Walther 13690); 'Idem Antonius Panormita' inc: Si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata (Walther 17835); 'Idem Antonius panormita pro homonea supradicta' inc: Tu qui secura procedis mente parumper (*CIL* VI 12652; Walther 19512); 'Idem Antonius Panormita' inc: Hic tyramnea iacet uatis medicique uoluptas; 164v 'Idem Antonius Panormita' (= Mart 8.46) inc: Tanta tua est probitas quanta est prestantia forme; 'Lucius De Sapho lesbia' inc: Tantum ego carminibus superaui sapho puellas (Walther 19020); 'Hylas pratensis' inc: Musa mihi uocem dederat cyllenius artem (Walther 11506); 'Publius Vergerius' inc: Viuat ut aeternum uitae iam munere functus; 165r 'Antonius Luscus pro Carulo' inc: Natus in exemplum cunctis mortalibus euum; 'Per Thomam Strozam' inc: Hic tener endimion uates tuus alme cupido; 'Versus auctoris' inc: Dumque puellarem ludum dum littore fratres; 'Ariminius' inc: Funere non equo puer immaturus obiui (*CIL* XI 531); 165v 'Antonius Panormita' inc: Siste gradum

queso sine te leuet umbra tenacem; 'Malii Seuerini boetii uxoris Epythaphium' inc: Helpes dicta fui sicule regionis alumna (Walther 7695)

Additions on flyleaves: 166 (flyleaf) in hand of scribe: untitled verses inc: Spirat ab occasu Zefirus uenit eurus ab ortu (Walther 18508); untitled verses inc: Inde carens pluuiis aquilo carensque pruinis; additions by a second hand follow: 'Porcellius de homine nano' inc: Aspice quale uirum seruit genus ille deorum rex; 'Idem' inc: Quando aduersa dee mens est tunc sancta precamur; added by a third hand: untitled verses inc: Virgine bella che di solo uestito; 167 contains the Latin poems of 166 recopied by a late hand

Conceivably the *zibaldone* derives from one assembled by Panormita (cf chapter 4, p 111); the Propertius descends independently from the same conflation of L and Vat lat 3273 (copied by Panormita) as the source of Brussels 14638, Hamburg Scrin 139.4 and Bodl Add B 55. Though heavily interpolated, it is faithful enough to its source in the early part of Book 2 to be of some use in determining the readings of L and hence of Petrarch's copy from 2.1.64-2.21.2. An old shelfmark 'LXXXVIII' appears on the spine, another ('74') on f ii; f iii^{v} contains the initials 'CG.' In the sixteenth century the manuscript belonged to Antonio Seripandi (ex-libris on f 165v), whose books passed to the Farnese family and thence to the present Biblioteca Nazionale.

Swoboda 3-4 (r Hanslik); Iannelli 186-9; A. Altamura 'Per un'edizione critica dell'*Hermaphroditus*' *Rinascita* 4 (1941) 271-5; Thomson n 64 (52-3)

71 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV.F.20 (268)

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460-70): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Philippus Corsinus. Parchment: 248x167 (168x90) mm: i+163+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point on hair side: 28 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}16^{10}$, 17^{4} (-4): horizontal catchwords bottom centre. Titles in red or violet ink: poems begin with simple blue initials: ff 1, 74, 109v illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration, that on f 1 extended as a frieze in left margin: at bottom of f 1 another frieze, with a wreath for a coat of arms, now erased. Modern parchment binding. 2nd f inc: Et uolucres nulla

Contents 1-74 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos (Monobliblos *ac*) Incipit Feliciter' (13v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute liber ii incipit'; 38v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Tertius Incipit'; 56v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Quartus Incipit'; 73v-74r 'Finis: Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Cinthiam Monobiblos Explicit Deo Gratias Semper' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4; 74-109v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 109v-163v Cristoforo Landino *Xandra* inc: Qui nunc censuram mauult tolerasse legentum

The manuscript is signed by the Florentine copyist Philippus Corsinus on f 163v, but his name has been erased; it could still be read, however, in 1939 when Perosa used it for his edition of the *Xandra*. It has long been recognized that the Propertius derives from F, closely but not directly. An earlier shelfmark ('173') appears on f 1.

Swoboda 24 (c Hanslik); Iannelli 189-90; A.J. Dunston 'Two Gentlemen of Florence: Amerigus and Philippus Corsinus' *Scriptorium* 20 (1968) 46-50 pl 13; A. Hänel *De Propertii codice Neapolitano 268 (IV.F.20)* (Diss Greifswald 1912)

72 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV.F.21 (269)

Italy (northeast? or Naples?), s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand. Paper: watermarks of 1) crossed arrows, not close to any example in Briquet; 2) a fox, close to Briquet 12978 (Udine 1454, var Venice 1469): 215x142 (155x86) mm: ii+128+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point on verso: 26 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}10^{12}$, 11^{10} (-9, 10): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles, not all executed: no initials executed. Modern parchment binding. 2nd f inc: Propontida

Contents 1-45v Catullus; 46v-124v Propertius, beginning without title ('Propertii Opera' added by a later hand) (59v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Moecenatem' 86v Book 3 begins; 106 'Explicit Liber Tertius Incipit Quartus'; 124v 'τελωσ'); 125-128v blank

The manuscript is a direct copy of Escorial ç.iv.22, which may come from northeast Italy; it may have gone to Spain through Naples, and could have been copied there. The scribe of IV.F.21 has added missing lines to the text of the letter of Sappho on ff 161 and 163v of Escorial ç.iv.22. An old shelfmark ('C.3.n°.21') is found on f 1.

Swoboda 25 (77 Hanslik); Iannelli 190; Thomson n 65 (52-3)

73 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV.F.22 (270)

Italy (Bologna), s xv (1465): single humanistic bookhand, annotated by a hand of s xv/xvi (wrongly identified by Iannelli as that of Aulo Giano Parrasio). Paper: no visible watermarks: 208x149 (140x75) mm: ii+65+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with crayon, both sides of page: 29-32 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}2^{12}$, 3^{12}(-2, 3), $4\text{-}5^{12}$, 6^{12} (-7, 9, 10, 11, 12) (the collation is difficult to establish because of the decayed condition of the volume, but the presence of catchwords on ff 24v, 34v, and 46v suggests this arrangement: the missing folios of gathering 3 contained Propertius 2.22.20-2.25.12). Titles in ordinary ink by scribe: simple blue and red initials. Modern binding of brown leather, stamped on spine *Propertiu/Elogiae*. 2nd f inc: (illegible)

Contents 1-65 Propertius, beginning without title ('... aurelii Naute' added by a later hand) (12v [written in capitals forming five inverted pyramids] 'Explicit Liber Primus / Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Cinthiam Et Ad Alios Monobiblos / Incipit Liber Secundus / Ad Cinthiam / Foeliciter'; 35v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobyblos incipit liber ...' [the rest lost through damage]; 50 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monoblyblos [Monoblybos *ac*] Incipit Quartus Liber et ultimus'; 65v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos feliciter explicit Vel liber Elegiarum Propertii finit et cetera. Bononie scripsi Anno domini M^{o}cccclxv^{o} xvii^{a} Iulii completus cum essem ibi uicarius potestatis'; 65v Anon, derivation of *Monobyblos* [cf Appendix])

This manuscript belongs to a group of three that also comprises Barb lat 58 and Vat lat 1612 (Rome 1470); Burney 241 is related in Book 4 and in its text of the *Monobyblos* derivation.

Swoboda 25 (ε Hanslik); Iannelli 190-1

74 Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini M.C.F.3-15 (Pil X no XXXIX)

Italy (Florence), s xv (1484, dated at the end of *Siluae*): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Antonio Sinibaldi. Parchment: 328x199 (216x90) mm: i+183+i leaves: ruled with a dry point, hair side: 35 lines: pentameters indented. 1-5^{10}, 6^{10} (-10), 7-9^{10}, 10^{8} (-6, 7, 8), 11-15^{10}, 16^{10} (-10), 17-19^{10} (each author forms a self-contained unit): horizontal catchwords right corner. Rubricated titles: poems begin with illuminated initials on a large square ground of green, violet, pink, or blue with white or yellow scroll-work, books with a larger version of the same in addition to a border of foliage and urns on a shredded ground of various colours in the style of Cristoforo Majorana, to whom the decoration of the manuscript has been attributed: on ff 60, 95, 154 illuminated initials containing miniatures of satyrs in a landscape: f 1 is surrounded by a massive architectural frame, with two *putti* at bottom supporting shields (now erased), two at top pointing to another (gold ground with five eyes?): where the illuminated *C* ought to be is a large miniature of a laurel-crowned male figure at a desk in a vaulted room with a woman standing in the doorway: the *C* is written small, apparently suspended from the ceiling in the miniature. Plain parchment binding, s xvii/xviii.

Contents 1-59v 'Propertii Vmbri Meuani Poetae Elegiographi Clarissimi Liber Primus' (11v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber II'; 31 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Incipit'; 46 'Liber Quartus Incipit' 59v 'Finis' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4); 60-93v Catullus; 94-94v 'Tibulli Vita' (from de Spira 1472) inc: Albius Tibullus eques illustris et insignis forma

in urbe romana ubi natus ...; 95-153v Statius *Siluae*; 154-183 Tibullus, followed by *Vita* and Epitaph

The Propertius descends rather closely from Salutati's manuscript (F) by way of an intermediate copy (perhaps San Marco 690); the titles, however, are taken from the 1472 de Spira edition. The Tibullus may also have been copied from it, as the inclusion of a longish *Vita* found there suggests, and the *Siluae* certainly has been. Probably Sinibaldi changed to de Spira 1472 for his exemplar after copying, but before rubricating, Propertius. In the eighteenth century the manuscript belonged to Cesare Valetta.

Swoboda 25 (126 Hanslik); E. Mandarini *I codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli* (Naples 1897) 34-5; de Marinis I 133, tav 24b and II 321; A. Murano *Miniature Napoletane del Rinascimento* (Naples sd) 66-7 tav xxvi, xxviii; Thomson n 63 (52-3)

75 Naples, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria XXIV.B.6

Rhodes, s xv (1474): single humanistic cursive hand, signed by Johannes de Trochulo. Paper: watermarks of 1) bull's head with flower, close to Briquet 14766 (Venice 1477) (ff 1-89); 2) fleur-de-lys, not identifiable with any example in Briquet (ff 90-101): 278x205 (175x91) mm: i+101 leaves: ruled on recto with a dry point: 23 lines ff 1-89, 31 lines ff 90-99: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{12} (-12): vertical catchwords. Titles and initials by scribe in same ink as text. Plain parchment binding of s xviii stamped with arms of the Caraffa family and the legend 'Carrafa Dux M. Dom. Martius Pacecco.' 2nd f inc: Et tenues choa

Contents 1-89v 'Sexti Aurelii propertii naute Vmbri Incipit liber nelegiarum (*sic*) uel monobiblos ad tullum' (16v 'Incipit secundus liber: ad moecenatem'; 47 'Incipit tertius liber'; 69 'Liber iiii Incipit: ad hospites'; 89v 'Sexti propertii Naute Aurelii Poete Illustrissimi liber explicit: Quem scripsi ego Ioannes de trochulo de neapoli Rhodi sub anno domini 1474 mense martio Vbi steti per aliquot menses missus a domino Rege ferdinando: tempore quo Veneti usurparunt regnum cipri: quod gaudium deus eis in futurum non seruet'); 90-99 Horace *Epodes* 1.1-17.43; 99v-101v blank

The manuscript is a copy of the *editio princeps* (Venice 1472). The circumstances related in the colophon suggest that the scribe found his exemplar (and perhaps his paper as well, to judge by the watermark in Propertius) among the spoils of war. The old shelfmarks on f 1 ('Madol. XI.3' and 'Madalo.Sca. 9 cas. 3') may refer to the period when the book belonged to the Caraffa family.

76 Oxford, Bodleian Library Additional B 55

Italy (Milan), s xv (probably 1451): two humanistic book-hands (the second copied 2.34.75-3.15.35), signed by Lorenzo Dolabella. Parchment: 150x105 (97x70) mm: ii+93+i (only the second flyleaf - the start of the modern foliation followed here - is early): ruled in ink or with a dry point on both sides or on flesh side only: 23 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}11^{8}$, 12^{8} (-6, 7, 8): horizontal catchwords bottom centre (omitted in gatherings 7 and 8). Rubricated titles: simple red initials: f 2 an illuminated initial on a square ground with white vine-stem scroll with trilobes and other leaves. Modern calf binding s xviii/xix. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Et nullo uacuus

Contents 2-93v 'Incipit Monobliblos Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Tullum' (18v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit' 49v Book 3 begins; 72 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tercius Explicit Quartus Faeliciter Incipit'; 93v 'Explicit Propertius Feliciter. Laus deo eiusque gloriosissime genetrici marie semper virgini. An. MCCC ..... Laurentius Dolabella Scripsit' then, added by another hand: 'Me Petrarcha tenet: scripsit Laurentius olim: / Pumice si caruit, lictera praestat opus.')

The manuscript has faded badly in many places, with the subscription having suffered most of all. The date was 'revived' at Postgate's request (this accounts for the purple blotch one now sees) and was read as 1451. Eight other Dolabella manuscripts are known to me: Glasgow Hunterian Museum V.1.7; London Brit Libr Add 22318; Piacenza Bibl Com Land 34; Torino Acc delle Scienze MMV 28; Vat Lat 5824 (brought to my attention by Dr Virginia Brown); Verona Bibl Cap CCXXXIX (200); Bibl Vat Chigi H.VIII.256; and Linköping Stifts- und Landesbibliothek Kf 25 (the last two brought to my attention by Dr de la Mare). The couplet on f 93v beginning 'Me Petrarcha tenet' has caused some controversy; the most satisfactory explanation is that it was written by an early owner whose name happened to be Petrarcha (not necessarily Franciscus): the note on f 2 in a still later hand, 'Nota quod Petrarcha passim in margine applicuit suam manum,' derives from an innocent misunderstanding of the couplet. The manuscript belonged about 1700 to a marquis de Barol (bookplate inside front cover) and was purchased at Sotheby's 6 August 1870 (lot 1372).

Swoboda 13-14 (d Hanslik); F. Madan *A Summary of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford 1905) 538 (n 28995); O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford 1970) II 75; Postgate 53-5; Sabbadini *SIFC* 7 (1899) 107-8; G. Resta *Le epitomi di Plutarco nel Quattrocento* (Padua 1962) 47 n 1;

A.C. de la Mare 'Florentine Manuscripts of Livy' in *Livy* ed T.A. Dorey (London 1971) 187 with n 71

77 Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon Class Lat 31

Italy (Florence), s xv (late): single humanistic bookhand, attributed by Fairbank to Antonio Sinibaldi. Parchment: 258x153 (155x90) mm: i+92+i leaves: ruled with a dry point, hair side: 23 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{8}$, $9\text{-}18^{10}$, 11^{8}: horizontal catchwords right corner. No titles executed for poems: titles to books are written in gold capitals on inscriptional backgrounds of red (Books 1, 4) or green (2, 3): poems begin with illuminated initials on a square ground of red, blue, or green with penwork depicting branches, flowers, fortresses, caged birds: books begin with a larger version of the same with a gold acanthus border in the margin: at the bottom of f 1 a frieze in left margin containing the Medici ring emblem: the 'inscription' containing the title is supported by griffons and surrounded by satyr masks and branches, the latter hung with ribbons and a string of red balls: below this a rectangle, the left half containing an illuminated *C* on a green ground (within the C a fine miniature of a young man holding a book), the right half divided horizontally, with (above) *ynthia* written in gold on blue and (below) the remainder of 1.1.1-2 written in gold on a violet ground (decoration attributed by Pächt to Monte or Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato and workshop). Binding of s xvi, elaborately tooled leather over wooden boards; formerly four clasps. 2nd f inc: Cura neque assueto

Contents 1-91 'Sexti Aurelii Vmbri Elegiarum Liber Primus Ad Tullum' (17 'Liber Secundus'; 47v 'Liber Tertius'; 70 'Liber Quartus'; 91 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Poetae Finis')

As the coat of arms shows, the manuscript was copied for some member of the Medici family, perhaps Lorenzo. One note in the margin (1.11.11 'titanis in') may be in the hand of Poliziano, according to Dr de la Mare. A note on f 1 records that the book was given by Matteo Chiodini (in whose library it was no 45) to Pagolo Cini (no 32 in his collection); another note records that it was purchased in 1584 by the furrier Piero di Simone de Nero da Santi. It was still in Florence in the 1700s; Bandini's catalogue of the Laurenziana collection (II c 97 n 4) reports that number 20 in the Guadagni library was 'elegantissimus Saec. XV pictura, et auro, ac Mediceis insignibus exornatus, in cuius prima pagina legitur: Di me Prete Matteo Chiodini' etc, which must be this manuscript (Bandini reports the note in full). Matteo Luigi Canonici must have acquired it soon after, and as part of his collection it was purchased by the Bodleian in 1817.

Swoboda 11 (109 Hanslik); H.O. Coxe *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae: Pars tertia, codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford 1854) c 124; Pächt and Alexander II 32, pl XXXI [see number 76 above]; B.L. Ullman *Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome 1960) 122

78 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat Class e 3

Italy (northeast?), s xv (second half): single humanistic cursive bookhand, with additions by two contemporary hands. Paper: various watermarks, two of scales (one similar to Briquet 2501), one of a bird, one of crossed arrows, one unidentifiable, none to be identified with any example in Briquet: 212x146 (140x85) mm: i+171+i leaves (the modern foliation, followed here, includes both flyleaves): ruled on recto with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}10^{10}$, 11^{12}, 12^{12} (-1), $13\text{-}16^{10}$, 17^{10} (-9, 10): vertical catchwords (but horizontal ff 1-71 and 134 *ad fin*). Rubricated titles only in Tibullus: red initials as far as f 5v. Original binding of wooden boards with leather spine; single clasp, still extant. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Quam iuuat immittes

Contents 2-43v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 44-45 Ovid *Am* 3.9; 45v-124 Propertius, beginning without title (53 Book 2 begins; 86v 'Aurelii propertii nautae liber tercius' [written in margin as a guide to the rubricator]; 105v 'Propertii aurelii nautae liber 4' [in margin]; 124r 'Propertii Aurelii nautae liber quartus finit feliciter. Amen'); 124v blank; 125-171 Catullus; 171v-173 blank, with *probationes* including a passage on the name of Cicero (inc: Nota quod opinione quorundam est uocatus Tulius eo quod multos tulit honores) and 'Nouem musarum nomina atque earum interpretratio (*sic*)' (inc: Castaliae a fonte tessalis ...)

The text of Propertius (and, it seems, Catullus) is directly copied from that in Venice Bibl del Museo Civico Correr 549. The manuscript was purchased in June 1889 at the Morbio sale in Milan (lot 576).

Swoboda 12 (84 Hanslik); F. Madan *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford 1905) 723 (n 30060); Thomson n 69 (52-3)

79 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Holkham misc 36 (Holkham Hall 333)

Italy (Genoa), s xv (1421): single cursive Gothic bookhand, signed by Johannes Campofregoso. Parchment: 248.5x179 (200x155) mm: iii+30+iii leaves (flyleaves modern): simple frame ruled with a dry point: written in two columns: 39 lines: pentameters not indented. 1^{8} (-1), 2^{8}, 3^{2}, 4^{8}, 5^{6} (-6): no catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple red initials (blue on ff 4v, 5, 11). Modern calf binding.

Contents 1-17 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 2.21.3 (4v 'Incipit Liber tertius' 11 'Liber quartus Incipit' 17 'Explicit. Deo gratias. Iste est propercius de quo ouidius in libro tristium ait Carmina quis tuto ... blandique propertius oris (= Ovid *Rem* 763-4, *Tr* 5.1.17). Amica namque propertii fuit nomine Cinthia. M^{o}ccccc^{o}xxi^{o} die x^{a} Octobris / Hic tua properti perfeci scripta Iohannes / Campofregosa stirpe pia genitus.'; 18-30 Petrarch *Epistolae metricae*; 30v Petrarch *Africa* 1-19

The scribe is probably Giovanni Fregoso, brother of Tommaso, the doge of Genoa expelled by Filippo Maria Visconti in November 1421. An inventory of Tommaso's library drawn up in 1425 contains no Propertius. It seems probable, however, that this manuscript (known to editors as L) was seized by the Visconti and appears in the 1426 inventory of their library at Pavia. Its influence upon the tradition was slight. Somehow the manuscript made its way to Naples, where it was later purchased from the library of Cesare Valetta. It derives from Petrarch's copy independently of F but through a common exemplar that it shares with P. The least corrupted and least corrected descendant of Petrarch's Propertius, it was brought to scholars' attention by Postgate.

Swoboda 12-13; Postgate 1-41 (with facsimile); La Penna I 224-8 and *passim*; B. Barker-Benfield, R. Hunt, A.C. de la Mare, and N. Wilson, *The Survival of Ancient Literature* (Oxford 1975) 82-3, pl xxv(a); N. Mann 'Petrarch Manuscripts in the British Isles' *IMU* 18 (1975) 503-4

80 Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare C.77

Italy (northeast?), s xv (second half): single humanistic cursive hand, identified by Zicàri as that of Pietro Barozzi. Paper: various watermarks (crossed daggers, capital letter *N*, two-wheeled cart), none similar to any example in Briquet: 216x146 (146x90) mm: 144 leaves: ruled on verso with a dry point: 26 lines: pentameters indented. 1-6^{12}, 7^{8}, 8-10^{12}, 11^{8}, 12-13^{10}: horizontal catchwords in right corner. Rubricated titles: first word of each poem is also written in red (so too in a catchword on f 12v): simple red initials in Propertius at 1.1, 2.1, 2.31, and 4.1. Original binding of wooden boards. 2nd f inc: Aspice quos summitat

Contents 1-79 Propertius (the title has been rendered illegible by the browning of the paper) (14v 'Propercii Aurelii Nautae Liber Primus Explicit Incipit Secundus Ad Mecenatem Foeliciter' 41v Book 3 begins; 60v 'Propercii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Explicit Incipit Quartus Foeliciter'; 79 'Propercii Aurelii Nautae Liber Quartus Foeliciter Explicit Monobiblos. Tempore quo roseos spargebat luna colores / Peregit extremum tunc mea dextra metrum.'); 79v-80 blank; 81-124v Catullus; 125-144v 'Homeri Poete Opus a Pyndara Traductum Incipit' (= *Ilias latina*)

A verse colophon similar to that at the end of Propertius follows every work in the manuscript. Pietro Barozzi (1441-1507), bishop of Belluno, moved to Padua in 1487; the present volume may be identified as n 242 in his collection. It has been in the Capitolare at least since the eighteenth century, when its shelfmark was S.5.

Swoboda 25 (125 Hanslik); M. Zicàri 'Il codice pesarese di Catullo e i suoi affini' *Studia Oliveriana* 1 (1953) 13-14; Thomson n 76 (52-3)

81 Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale

(A fragment; mentioned briefly at Ferguson 32.)

82 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 7989

Italy (Florence), s xv (1423): single humanistic bookhand, annotated by the same hand, by another contemporary hand (identified by Dr de la Mare as that of Giorgio Begna), and by a later one (ca 1500). Paper: three watermarks (unicorn's head pp 1-110, horn pp 111-204, three hills pp 209-248), none identifiable with any example in Briquet: 282x210 (203x130 ruled, 203x85 written) mm: iv+124+iv leaves (all flyleaves modern except the first following the text; modern pagination is followed here): ruled with a simple frame, in crayon, both sides of page: 48 lines (pp 151-154 written in two columns): pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}2^{12}$, $3\text{-}12^{10}$: horizontal catchwords bottom centre. Rubricated titles: simple blue or red initials. Early nineteenth-century binding, restored 1956, when a displacement of leaves in the first gathering was corrected. 2nd f inc: Nam posita est nostre

Contents 1-43 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph (with the comment, 'Testimonium melius periiset') and *Vita*; 44-131 'Monobliblos (sexti *add pc*) Propertii Aurelii Naute ad Tullum. Incipit liber Primus Feliciter' (Martial 14.189 appears in the upper left corner) (59 'Propertii Aurelii Naute ad Tullum Liber primus Explicit. Summa huius Libri. Epistule xxi. Versus Vii^{c} vi. Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber secundus Incipit feliciter'; 89 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Tullum Liber Secundus Explicit. Summa huius libri. Epistule xxvi. Versus Mcccl xii. Propertii Aurelii Naute Ad Tullum Liber Tercius Incipit'; 111 'Aurelii propertii Naute Ad Tullum Liber Tercius Explicit. Summa huius libri. Epistule xxvii. Versus V^{c}iii lxxxx. Propertii Aurelii Naute ad Tullum Liber Quartus Incipit' 131 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Quartus et Vltimus Ad Tullum Explicit. Summa huius libri. Epistule xii. Versus V^{c}iiii lii. Summa tocius operis. Versuum et Epistularum. Epistule lxxxvi. Versus iiii^{M} x. Iste est Propertius de quo Ouidius Naso in plerisque operibus suis.'); 132-179 Catullus, preceded by Martial 14.195 and verses of de Campesanis,

followed by note in lower right corner (to be rubricated later) '1423 di(e) 20 nobr / Eple 60 Vers(us) 2..2.'; 180-184 ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 185-205 'Petronii Arbitri Satyri Fragmenta ex libro Quinto decimo et sexto decimo'; 206-229 *Cena Trimalchionis*; 229-232 *Moretum*; 233-237 Claudian *De phoenice* (*cm* 27) (added by hand of ca 1500); 238-248 blank

If it were not an important witness to the text of Propertius and a still more important source of early emendations to the texts of both Catullus and Propertius, Paris 7989 would still be renowned as the sole source for the *Cena Trimalchionis* episode of the *Satyricon*. The inclusion of two Petronian texts deriving from manuscripts discovered by Poggio (the *Cena* was found in Cologne earlier in 1423) strongly suggests that the manuscript originated in Florence in Poggio's circle. The scribe is likely from his hand to have been either Venetian or Dalmatian. Two other manuscripts annotated by him exist in the Vatican Library, Vat lat 5135 and 5136 (both Cicero), of which the former has a few notes of Begna as well. Begna knew a Pietro Cippico; Paris 7989, after many years of obscurity, reappeared in the library of the Cippico family in Trogir (hence called the *codex Traguriensis*). Mons 218/109 is a close copy of it, although interpolated with a strain of text that originated in Padua about 1460 or before; the Mons manuscript was written by a northern hand, and may therefore be the work of a foreign student working in Padua - hence Paris 7989 may also have been in Padua at about the same time. The text of Propertius (cited by editors under the siglum P) is a corrected copy of the same copy of Petrarch's manuscript from which L derives; some further corrections were made soon after copying, probably from the manuscript sent by Poggio to Niccoli in summer of 1427.

Swoboda 15; *Catalogus* III 4 418; A.C. de la Mare 'The Return of Petronius to Italy' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford 1976) 220-54; A.C. Clark *CR* 22 (1908) 178-9; D.F.S. Thomson 'A New Look at the Manuscript Tradition of Catullus' *YCS* 23 (1973) 121, 126-9; Ullman 289-90; Zicãri 79-99; Thomson n 78 (54-5)

83 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 7990

Italy (Florence), s xv (1475 or after): single humanistic cursive hand. Parchment: 228x134 (147x76) mm: i+165 leaves: ruled on hair side with a dry point: 28 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}15^{10}$, 16^{8}, 17^{8} (8 pasted down inside back cover): vertical catchwords, also a series of letter/number combinations indicating gathering and folio on the recto of each folio in the first half of the gathering. Rubricated titles: simple blue initials for poems: each poem begins with an illuminated initial with white vine-stem decoration (except

f 24v, where the initial is on a square ground of blue, pink, and green with gold and white scroll-work): on f 1 a frieze covering three sides of the page, with two *putti* at bottom centre supporting a wreath with unidentified coat of arms. Original binding of tooled brown leather. 2nd f inc: Hoc mihi contingat

Contents 1-39 Tibullus (followed by copyist's subscription: Error siquis inest, exemplar semina seuit: / Si secus esse putas, desine: nolo legas.); 39v-40v blank; 41-84v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis (called 'Hextichum Guarini Veronensis,' as in early editions); 85 blank; 86-161r 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Poetae Clarissimi Elegiarum Liber Primus Incipit Ad Tullum' (98v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus incipit Ad Moecenatem'; 124 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tercius incipit'; 143 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Quartus incipit de Primordiis urbis romae'; 161 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Quarti et Vltimi libri finis. Deo Gratias. Error in hoc fuerit si forte uolumine, lector, / Exemplar causa est, non ego, ne dubites.'); 161v-164v blank; 165 untitled prose passage, 'Elegias scripsit apud grecos callimachus corynthius ut ait ... licet Solinus cyreneum fuisse dicat, Philetas cous et Mimnerumus'; followed by Quintilian 10.1.93, 'Elegia quoque ... durior Gallus'

The text of Propertius has been copied from the Milan edition of 1475; according to Thomson the text of Catullus is related to that in Vat lat 3272. The shelfmark of Cardinal Ridolfi appears on f 1.

Swoboda 16 (123 Hanslik); *Catalogus* 418; Plessis 28-9; La Penna II 27-8; R. Ridolfi 'La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolo Ridolfi' *La Bibliofilia* 31 (1929) 173-93; Thomson n 79 (54-5)

84 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 8233

Italy (Florence), s xv (1465): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Gherardo del Ciriagio. Parchment: 230x153 (145x85) mm: i+172+i leaves (the modern foliation begins from the first flyleaf): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}17^{10}$, 18^{2}: horizontal catchwords in right corner, as well as a sequence of Roman numerals. Rubricated titles: poems being with simple blue or red initials, books with illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration: on f 1 a vine-stem frieze covering three sides of the page (with birds), at the bottom two *putti* supporting a wreath for coat of arms not executed, also two smaller initials on a square ground. Original binding of tooled brown leather. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Tua nunc opera

Contents 1-49 Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 48-89 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph, then subscription giving the date 1465, then *Vita*; 89v blank; 90-172 'Incipit Monobiblos

Elegiarum Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Ad Tullum' 104v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Primus Explicit Incipit Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 132v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Secundus Explicit Incipit Tertius'; 153 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Tertius Explicit Incipit Quartus'; 172 'Aurelii Propertii Naute Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Explicit. Gherardu Cerasius Florentinus Scripsit Florentie. Laus deo')

Although copied in Florence (from the same exemplar as Bibl Bodmeriana Cod Bod 141, dated 1466, and Urb lat 641), the manuscript may have been sold to a Neapolitan client: some of the annotations (such as 'hauripe' at 1.20.43) have been taken from Berlin lat fol 500 or Valencia 725, both certainly Neapolitan. The early owners whose names appear in the manuscript have not been identified (f 1 Petrus Xixo Lopicus Gotholanus, f 170 Marcilius). A note of s xvi(?) records that it was purchased along with copies of Caesar and Cicero's *Brutus* and *De officiis* for five *aurei*. It belonged to the library of the de Mesme family and hence is called the Memmianus (it is not however the same as the Memmianus supposedly seen by Passerat); its shelfmark in the collection was n 590. It passed thence to the Bibliothèque Royale in 1731 (as n 6150). Postgate first noticed its similarity to Urb Lat 641 and to N; in fact it derives from Poggio's old copy and has value for establishing the text.

Swoboda 16; *Catalogus* 440; *MD* III pl CLXXV; Postgate 42-9; Plessis 27; La Penna II 16-17; Ullman *Origin* 115; Thomson n 83 (54-5)

85 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 8235

Italy (Ferrara or Venice: de la Mare), s xv (1487 or after): two late humanistic hands, the first (ff 1-69) sharply angular, the second (ff 70-81) highly cursive. Parchment: 224x161 (150x85) mm: i+82+i leaves: ruled horizontally with pencil on both sides of page, vertically with a dry point on hair side: 26 lines on ff 1-69, 25 on ff 70-81: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{12}: horizontal catchwords bottom centre. Rubricated titles as far as f 54v, the remainder not executed (except ff 72-81, where they are in ordinary ink): simple initials of red ff 12-13, one of gold f 20, others not executed: f 1 is surrounded by a border of scroll-work with flowers and leaves, *putti* and birds, with miniatures of a duck and fawn inset at left centre and bottom centre respectively: at cop centre two *putti* support an inscriptional plaque (surmounted by an urn) with the title written in gold letters on a violet ground: an illuminated *C* in a square ground contains a miniature of a stern female figure in profile. Original binding of tooled brown leather. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-80v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Poetae Clarissimi Elegiarum Liber Primus Ad Tullum' (15 'Propertii aurelii

nautae liber secundus Ad moecenatem'; 42 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber iii'; 61v Book 4 begins; 80v Propertius ends); 80v-81 'Eiusdem philippi Heroaldi hedecasyllabon' (*sic*) inc: Quisquis carptor es et calumniator; 81v-82 blank

The first scribe copied from the Reggio (Emilia) edition of 1481, the second, as the inclusion of the poem of Beroaldus shows, form one of the printings of Beroaldus' edition, which first appeared in 1487. La Penna noticed the poem but did not draw the obvious conclusion; according to Swoboda (17) the manuscript is an autograph of Beroaldus, 'von dem auch die Korrekturen stammen.' Plessis makes the manuscript Neapolitan, but also calls a 'cygne' what is obviously a duck. It belonged to D. Dufresne before entering the Bibliothèque Royale as n 6151.

Swoboda 16-17 (111 Hanslik); *Catalogus* 440; Plessis 27-8; La Penna II 27-8

86 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 8236

Italy (northeast?), s xv (late): single late italic bookhand (numerous marginal notes in Catullus, many ending 'C.,' 'F.C.,' 'F.C.2,' or 'F.C.4'). Paper: four watermarks, 1) three hills; 2) three hills surmounted by a cross; 3) three hills with vertical stroke and *X*; 4) bell, none identifiable with any example in Briquet: 186x114 (140x75) mm: iv+220+iv (all flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point on verso in first, recto in second half of gathering: 21-2 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}14^{10}$, 15^{6}, $16\text{-}21^{10}$, 22^{8}, 23^{6}: vertical catchwords. There seem once to have been rubricated titles in Propertius, now erased: titles of works and of books in gold capitals: simple initials of red for poems, of gold for major divisions. Dark brown leather binding, s xvii. 2nd f inc: Quid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-98v 'Propercii Aurelii Naute Liber I Incipit' (18 'Liber II'; 51v 'Liber III'; 75v 'Liber IIII'; 98v Propertius ends); 98v-145 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph; 145v-146 blank; 147-203v Catullus; 204-219 *Priapea* inc: Carminis incompti lusus lecture procaces; 219-220 Priapeum 'Quid hoc noui est?' inc: Quid hoc negotii est? quid deum ira nuntiat

The name (or names?) 'Diana Tiphis' appears in gold capitals in the middle of f 220v - one of several enigmatic features of this manuscript. The text of Propertius is somehow related to LP, but has been heavily corrected. It was n 418 in the library of Antoine Faure (died 1689), then entered the Bibliothèque Royale in 1701 as n 6151^{2}.

Swoboda 17; Fischer 25 (χ Hanslik); *Catalogus* 440; Plessis 28; La Penna II 25-6; Thomson n 85 (54-5)

87 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 8237

Italy (northern?), s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand (perhaps a scholar's copy). Paper: single watermark of three hills, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 221x131 (170x90) mm: 68 leaves (the early flyleaves have been pasted down inside the binding): ruled with only a simple frame in pencil: 29-36 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{8}, $6\text{-}7^{10}$: horizontal catchwords bottom centre. Titles in same ink as text: no initials executed. Early binding of brown leather; traces of two clasps. 2nd f inc: Set facies aderat

Contents 1-68v Propertius, beginning without title ('Propertii Elegiarum liber primus' added by a later hand) (13v 'Liber Secundus Incipit'; 37v 'Liber Tertius'; 54 'Liber Quartus'; 68v 'Finit Propertius. Deo gratias' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4 and Propertius 1.7.24)

Several early notes in Latin and French appear on f 68v and on the flyleaves. The manuscript is perhaps the exemplar of Bibl Vat Chigi H.IV.122. It belonged to Colbert, hence called 'Colbertinus primus' by Broekhuyzen and Burman.

Swoboda 17; Fischer 26 (57 Hanslik); *Catalogus* 440; Plessis 28-9; La Penna II 27

88 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 8458

Italy (Rome), s xv (1474 or after): copied in a single cursive humanistic hand, with extensive commentary to Tibullus in the same hand and corrections to Propertius and Catullus in a hand of ca 1500 (f 105, which had become smudged, was recopied in the seventeenth or eighteenth century). Parchment: 191x121 (126x65) mm: iii+164+iii leaves: ruled in ink, both sides of page: 26 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{4}, $2\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{2} (-1, 2), $6\text{-}18^{10}$, 19^{10} (-6, 7) (the existence of the lost gathering 5, which may of course have been longer, is established by the erased catchword at the end of 4 and by the incomplete text of *Am* 3.9): vertical catchwords. The entire manuscript has been written in green ink: on ff 1-34 the initials, titles, and commentary have been written in a variety of inks (red, green, blue, yellow, violet), with hexameters and pentameters beginning with red and blue letters respectively on f 1r, the reverse on f 1v: f 1r has an illuminated initial with white vine-stem decoration forming a frieze on three sides of the page, at bottom centre a wreath with coat of arms (three mounts in silver on a blue ground): ff 35-115 titles, initials, and the first distich of each poem are rubricated: no titles or initials executed ff 117-159 except illuminated initial with vine-stem frieze f 117r. Red calf binding of s xviii. 2nd f inc: Aut gelidas hibernus

Contents 1-33v Tibullus, followed by *Vita* and Epitaph; 34 Epitaphs and *testimonia* concerning Tibullus (inc: Sub teneris annis tenerorum scriptor Amorum; Ovid *Am* 1.15.27-8, 3.9.1-46); 35-115 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobiblos Ad Cynthiam Aliosue Liber Primus' (49 'Secundus Liber Ad Mecoenatem Quare Amores Tantum Scribat'; 76v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius' (Secundus *ac*); 96v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Quartus Elegia'; 115 Propertius ends); 115 Anon, Derivation of *Monobyblos* (cf appendix 1); 115v-116v blank; 117-159 Catullus;

159v-164v Collection of epitaphs for Alessandro Cinuzzi ('Epigrammata in laudem Alexandri Senensis ingenio forma uoce pudore fide cunctis praelatus ephebis a nonnullis peritissimis uiris aedita'): 159v 'Iohannes Alovisius' inc: Alexandro adolescentulo proh dolor ...; inc: Quod desyderium pueri mors atra relinquis; 'Sigismondus Fulginas' inc: Ille ego sum sacra nimium dilectus in aula; 160 'Ad Demetrium de morte Sodalis Manilius Rallus Spartanus' inc: Tecum flere iuuat liquidoque madescere luctu; 160v 'Eiusdem Manilii Ralli Spartani' inc: Hic situs Etruscae Senae pius urbis alumnus; 'Quarqualius' inc: Moribus et forma cunctos superauit Ephebos; 'Thomas Astyus' inc: Clarus Alexander tria lustra peraegerat: Illi; 161 'Patricio iuueni Thomae Tornabono floren. in morte Alexandri Senensis pueri formosiss. Marsus' inc: Defleat infelix aeuum lachrymabile fatum; 163 'Fl. Pantagathus' inc: Ad mea formosi Iuuenes concurrite fata; 163v 'Fl. Pantagathus S.A. ex uoto' inc: Vix ter quinque mihi Lachesis perneuerat annos; 'Iohannes Baptista Viterbiensis' inc: Flebilis ante diem iacet hac Alexander in urna; 164 'Lucidus Aristophilus' inc: Me Tuscae peperere Senae: Cinnucia gens est; (prose inscription) inc: Maesti parentes filio sanctissimo ... ; 'Lucidus Aristophilus' inc: Quantum Sena meo gauisa est nobilis ortu; 'Franciscus noxetus' inc: Hic situs est per quem forma Narcisus et ipse; 164v 'Eiusdem' inc: Fer tumulo uiolas et lilia: basia mixtis; 'Eiusdem' inc: Quem luxit: quo nil uidit formosius orbis; 'Eiusdem de Dimitrio' inc: Dimitrium quid flere uetas nimis improba turba; 'Eiusdem' inc: Postquam Cinnucium Alexandrum Senensem ... (ends 164v with 'Alexander ille Mace' at end of page, to which a later hand has added, against the grammar, 'do fuit. Finis')

The epitaphs commemorate the death in 1474 of Alessandro Cinuzzi of Siena, page to Girolamo Riario; the authors include some well-known figures of Roman scholarship, such as Flavius Pantagathus, another of whose poems appears in Ravenna 277. The Iohannes Alovisius might conceivably be the otherwise unknown copyist of Bibl Riccardiana 633. This is not a complete copy of the collection, as Patetta shows. Somehow the manuscript went from Rome to Constantinople, where it was purchased

at the end of the sixteenth century; it was n 884 in the collection of Étienne Baluze (1630-1718) before joining the Bibliothèque Royale with the shelfmark 6150[2]. It can be identified as the *codex Commelinianus* of Broekhuyzen, under which name it is cited in the OCT apparatus at 2.19.5 (elsewhere the OCT cites it under the siglum π).

Swoboda 17; Fischer 26-7 (110 Hanslik); *Catalogus* 461; Plessis 29; La Penna II 17-23; Ferguson 22-30; Thomson n 86 (54-5); F. Patetta 'Di una raccolta di componimenti e di una medaglia in memoria di Alessandro Cinuzzi Senese paggio del conte Gerolamo Riario' *Bulletino senese* 6 (1899) 151-76

89 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat 8459

Italy (Rome), s xv (1481 or later): copied by a single cursive humanistic hand, with additions (from printed editions) on ff 10-11 and 50-1 by a contemporary hand. Paper: several watermarks, none entirely visible, 1) scissors, 2) a horn: 140x88 (105x55) mm: i+155+i leaves: ruled with a double frame in pencil or with a dry point, on both sides of the page: 24-31 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{12} (-1), $2\text{-}3^{10}$, 4^{12}, 5^{14} (-14), $6\text{-}9^{10}$, $10\text{-}13^{12}$, 14^{12} (-12): no catchwords. No initials or titles executed. Early binding of tooled brown leather; formerly two clasps. 2nd f inc: Diros pharsalia

Contents 1-7 Historical and geographical notes from various sources inc: Arctos alio nomine Vrsa stella est ad polum spetentrionalem; 7v-9v blank; 10-11 (added by a second hand) Life of Tibullus inc: Albius tibullus eques Illustris et Insignis forma in urbe romana ubi natus pergratus ...; 11-49v Tibullus, preceded by *Vita* and Epitaph; 50-51 Ovid *Am* 3.9; 51v-56v blank; 57-112 Propertius, beginning without title (72 Book 2 begins; 99 Book 3 begins; 112 Propertius ends incomplete at 3.15.46); 112v-155v blank

The hand of the scribe betrays several characteristics of the Roman Academy. As far as 2.33.9 his text of Propertius is related to Groningen 159 (also Roman) but subsequently is derived from the 1481 Reggio edition. This was n 55 in the library of Colbert (hence called *Colbertinus alter* by early editors) before joining the Bibliothèque Royale as n 6004.

Swoboda 17; Fischer 27 (121 Hanslik); *Catalogus* 461; Plessis 29; La Penna II 23-5

90 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 140 (HH.IX.9)

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1430-40 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand, identified by de la Mare as that of Johannes Andreae de Colonia (a few contemporary corrections and annotations). Parchment: 219x152 (153x83) mm: iii+88+iii leaves (flyleaves all modern): ruled hair side with a dry point: 25 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{8}: no

catchwords. No titles executed: poems begin with an illuminated initial on a square ground of green or violet with white scroll-work: ff 1, 15v, 43v, 63v have illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration on a ground of green and red. Binding of red calf stamped with gold, s xviii. 2nd f inc: Aspice quos

Contents 1-83 Propertius, beginning without title (15v Book 2 begins; 43v Book 3 begins; 63v Book 4 begins; 83 Propertius ends); 83v-87v ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 88 blank

The same scribe copied other manuscripts dated 1437, 1441-2, and 1444. The present manuscript is the earliest extant representative of a type of conflated text based principally upon a lost copy (perhaps Niccoli's, if he made one) of Poggio's Propertius.

Swoboda 25; Fischer 35-6 (49 Hanslik); A.C. de la Mare 'Florentine Manuscripts of Livy' in *Livy* ed T.A. Dorey (London 1971) 181 with n 25 and pl IV (= Besançon 839); T. de Marinis 'Di alcuni codici calligrafici napoletani del secolo xv' *IMU* 9 (1966) 179-82 with pl xii-xiv (= Bodl Libr Douce 214)

91 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 716 (HH.V.47)

Italy (Pavia), s xv (1471): single humanistic cursive hand, signed by Bernardus Pratus of Parma. Paper: watermark of a flower (eight petals), similar to Briquet 6596 (var Milan 1468), 6597 (Chiavenna 1464, var Milan 1472), or 6599 (Alessandria 1475, var Milan 1475, Pavia 1481): 225x160 (144x100) mm: ii+145+ii leaves: ruled on recto with a dry point: 30 lines: pentameters indented only in Tibullus. $1\text{-}5^{12}$, 6^{10}, 7^{12}, $8\text{-}9^{14}$, $10\text{-}11^{12}$, 12^{12} (-12): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue and red initials alternate: ff 1, 71, 111 have blue initials flourished with red. Red calf binding of s xviii stamped with gold: on front, 'Bibliothecae Regiae / Parmensis,' on spine, 'Propert. / Et / Iuuenal.' 2nd f inc: Eueni patriis

Contents 1-69v 'Propertii nautae poetae Elegiographi monobiblii de Cynthia (ad Cynthiam *ac*) liber primus foeliciter incipit. Ad Tullum' (13 'Explicit propertii liber primus incipit secundus ad Cynthiam et primo Ad Mecenatem'; 36 'Propertii liber secundus explicit incipit Tertius eiusdem. et primo sermo ad Calimachum et philitem'; 53 'Propertii liber tercius explicit incipit Quartus eiusdem. et primo de urbe Roma'; 69-69v 'Finis. Cynthia facundi ... ipsa dedit [Mart 14.189]. Finis. Propertii liber quartus et ultimus explicit per me Bernardum pratum de parma in Arce papie anno domini 1471'); 70 blank; 71-110 Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis (called 'Guarini ueronensis Epigrama'); 111-144v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 145 untitled Latin poem inc: O decus etruriae rosa flos et lilia senae

Similar subscriptions follow Catullus and Tibullus; that on f 110 adds that the manuscript was copied 'apud Magnificum Gandulfum de Bononia Castellanum.' According to Affò-Pezzana *Memorie degle scrittori e letterati parmigiani* (Parma 1833) VII 660, Bernardo dal Pra was chancellor of Gandolfo de' Rossi in Pavia; he cites the subscription to a manuscript (probably still in Parma) of an Italian translation of John Mandeville written in Pavia in March 1465. Bernardus also copied Rome Bibl Angelica 1536 in Pavia in 1471 (*Colophons* n 2102).

Swoboda 26; Fischer 36 (76 Hanslik); Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 88 (54-5)

92 Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana 1167 (1217)

Italy (Siena), s xv (1470-1): single humanistic cursive hand, signed by Francesco Fucci of Città di Castello. Paper: single watermark of a cross, same type as Briquet 5671: 215x138 (137x70) mm: 142 leaves: ruled on verso with a dry point: pentameters not indented. 1^{10} (-10; 1 has been pasted down inside the binding), $2\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{10} (-10), 10^{10}, 11^{4}, $12\text{-}14^{10}$, 15^{14} (-14; 13 has been pasted down inside the binding): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple red initials. Original binding of paperboard covered with parchment leaves from a manuscript of ca s xii. 2nd f inc: Neque illius

Contents 1-47r Catullus, followed by Q. Lutatius Catulus fr 1 Morel; 48-86v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph; 87-110v 'Incipit gallus poeta eximius' (Maximianus *Elegies*); 101-142c 'Incipit propertius ad cinthiam suum amorem' (115 'Finit liber primus incipit secundus'; 142v Propertius ends with 2.34.94: 'Finis. Finit Propertius. Scripsy Ego Franciscus Futius Tyfernatus Senis Die Prima Ianuarii et Die Prima Anni M^{o}CCCC^{o}-LXXI. Amen')

Other subscriptions follow Catullus (8 December 1470), Tibullus (26 December 1470), and Maximianus (15 January 1471). The name Stephanus Paganutius on the front cover may belong to an early owner; according to a note of s xvii-xviii on f 1 the manuscript belonged to an unspecified library of Sant' Agnese.

Swoboda 26; Fischer 36-7 (91 Hanslik); Mazzatinti *Inventario* XLV 89-90; M. Zicàri 'Il codice pesarese di Catullo e i suoi affini' *Studia Oliveriana* 1 (1953) 5-23; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 90 (54-5)

93 Poppi, Biblioteca Comunale 54

Italy (Siena), s xv (1472): single humanistic bookhand, signed by one Gaspar. Paper: watermarks of 1) a ladder, not identifiable with any example in Briquet; 2) a palm, similar to Briquet 10637 (Lucca 1467): 224x143 (160x85) mm: v+107+vi leaves (the outermost flyleaf at either end is modern; the

next pair is parchment, taken from a manuscript of s xii and probably the original covering): no visible signs of ruling: 28 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{12}$, 9^{12} (-12): vertical catchwords, also consecutive lower case letters at the upper right corner of the first folio recto in each gathering. Rubricated titles and initials in Tibullus, none executed in Propertius. Modern binding of paperboard.

Contents Between ff i and ii is a small insert containing the deathbed recollections of Cav. Filippo Adami of Florence, dated April 1768; 1-35v Tibullus, followed by *Vita* and Epitaph (with subscription, 'Finis die Sabbati hor. 3^a die decima aprilis 1472 Senis in domo Ludouici doti. Ego Gaspar. et audiui a *Maximo Pacifico* poeta die 21 aprilis 1472 finis'); 36 blank, with *probationes*; 37-107v Propertius, beginning without title (49v Book 2 begins; 73v Book 3 begins; 91v Book 4 begins; 107v text ends at 4.11.70 through loss of last folio); 108-111 blank, with *probationes*

Gaspar and Ludovicus Dotus are otherwise unknown, but Pacificus Maximus (whose name was erased from the subscription) is the poet and scholar who copied Egerton 3027. At least one of the variants of his own copy (1.1.2 'libidinibus' for 'cupidinibus') also appears in Poppi 54. The Propertius was corrected from a copy of de Spira 1472. On f 1 appears the motto 'Stultorum infinitus est numerus'; a note on f ii records that the book was purchased in Siena in 1516 by one Lucas Ascianensis (his name again on f 112). Mazzatinti reported the manuscript as containing Catullus as well.

Swoboda 26 (92 Hanslik); Mazzatinti *Inventario* VI 134

94 Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense 277

Italy (Spello?), s xv (1459): consists of two originally separate manuscripts, ff 1-107 and 108-116, each copied by a single cursive humanistic hand, with additions to the first by a contemporary hand. Paper: watermark of a horn, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 250x132 (150x85) mm: iv+117+iv leaves (all flyleaves modern): ruled vertically on both sides of page in pencil, horizontally with a dry point on verso in first, on recto in second half of gathering: 34 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}3^{12}$, 4^{12} (-11), $5\text{-}7^{12}$, 8^{12} (-8, 9, 10, 11, 12), 9^{12}, 10^{6} (-6), 11^{10}: catchwords in right corner, horizontal. Rubricated titles: simple red initials for poems, those for books not executed. Modern binding of paperboard. 2nd f inc: O quantum est

Contents 1-30 Tibullus, preceded by *Vita* and Epitaph; 30 untitled Latin poem (by Niccolo Volpe) inc: Incipit a teneris nimio succensus amore; 30v-90v 'Propertii aurelii nautae monobiblos uel elegiarum liber ad Tullum incipit foeliciter' (41 'Propertii Aurelii nautae poetae illustrissimi elegiarum liber

primus explicit Incipit secundus'; 61v 'Propertii Aurelii nautae poetae illustrissimi elegiarum liber secundus explicit feliciter Incipit liber tertius item foeliciter'; 76 'Propertii Aurelii nautae poetae illustrissimi elegiarum liber Tertius explicit feliciter Incipit liber quartus item foeliciter'; 90v 'Propertii Aurelii nautae poetae illustrissimi Elegiarum liber quartus feliciter explicit Anno religionis nostrae millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono: septembris die uigesima sexta. Amen. βαπτήστου Σπελλαίου'); 90v untitled Latin poem inc: Qui nostras placido es solatus carmine curas (attributed to Jacobus Bononiensis in Vat lat 1612); 91-98 'Marrasii siculi ad Leonardum Aretinum Elegiarum liber incipit feliciter' inc: ( )Vnc leonarde tuo uolui obsignare libellum (Giovanni Marrasio *Angelinetum*); 98v (title at beginning is illegible; in the subscription the work is called 'Claudiani uersus de uita rustica et urbana notabilissimi') inc: Quo uesane ruis? teneas utrinque licebit; 99-105v 'Ioannis Pontani Vmbri de diuinis laudibus liber incipit ad Illustrem Principem Ioannem aragoniae ...' inc: Non aurum gemmaeque iuuant quem candida uirtus; 106-107 later additions by the same hand: 106 'Galli Poetae In Niobem saxeam apud albanum' (= Ausonius *Epigr* 63, p 335 Peiper); 'In Bucculam Myronis aeream' (= Ausonius *Epigr* 68, p 337 Peiper); 'In maritum Zelotypum' (= Ausonius *Epigr* 3.1-8, p 311 Peiper, with 11-12 added still later); 106v 'Galli poete de Lidia' inc: Lidia formosas inter praeclara puellas; 107 'Ad Baptistum Ispellum' inc: Mestus eram manibus iunctis mutisque labellis (signed by 'Pantagathus Infelix'); 107v 'Publicae Hylaritatis Iudicio' 'Damnaris, Leli, parare Cenam opulentam pinguem grandem obesam lautam Ebriolam temulentam letam genialem sotialem suffusam salibus locis dicteriis cantu Coreis sexu grato pro discumbentium arbitrio sitque post epulas libertas bachica in loco libero loto viridi herboso gramineo florido Conuiuis(?) nosti demere ex hiis quenquam non liceat, addere liceat, set Itrinus machaon archadicus omnino arceatur. Vale. Sotietas Perpetua.'; 108-117 Columella Book 10

At the top of f 1 appears the motto, 'Quod foelix faustum bonum fortunatumque siet.' The copyist may be Baptista of Spello, as Sabbadini thought. The poem on f 107 addressed to him and signed by Pantagathus is not in the hand of the man usually identified as Pantagathus, Giovanni Battists Capranica, bishop of Fermo 1478-85 (for a specimen of his script see Vat lat 3964, f 28v in Bertola *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* [Vatican City 1942]). The manuscript must have remained in Spello or in Umbria at least until 1467, when it served as the exemplar of Egerton 3027, written in Perugia that year. Eventually Baptista and the manuscript made their way to Rome, to judge by the presence

of Pantagathus, who visited the catacombs with Leto, and by the piece on f 107v. The text of Propertius derives very closely, with some individual interpolation, from Vat lat 3273.

Swoboda 26; Fischer 37 (j Hanslik); Mazzatinti *Inventario* IV 206-7; Sabbadini *SIFC* 7 (1899) 108-9; Ullman 298-300; M. Zicàri 'Il "Cavrianeus" antaldino e i codici catulliani affini al Bononiensis 2621' *Studia Oliveriana* 4-5 (1956-7) 145-62. On Pantagathus: F. Patetta *Bulletino senese* 6 (1899) 158-61; C. Stornaiolo 'Il Giovanni Battista e il Pantagato compagni di Pomponio Leto nella visita delle catacombe romane' *Nuovo bolletino di archeologia cristiana* 12 (1906) 67-75, 396 n 7

95 Rome, Biblioteca dell' Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana 43.E.8

Italy (Padua), s xv (1460): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Johannes Baptista Auretinus of Verona. Parchment: 220x149 (140x110) mm: i+114+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on verso with a dry point: 19 lines: pentameters indented. 1^2, $2\text{-}12^{10}$, 13^2: horizontal catchwords lower corner. Titles executed in brown, red, green, or violet, sometimes with chain or crosshatch ornament, sometimes with triangles or leaves separating the words: simple blue or red initials for poems: each book begins with a blue initial with red, green, and yellow interlace on a square gold ground: on f 3 the arms of the Trevisan of Padua. Modern binding of paperboard. 2nd f inc: Sit modo libertas

Contents 3-111 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Incipit' (22 'Sexti propertii aurelii nautae elegiarum primus explicit liber ad cynthiam amicam suam suauissimam'; 60 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Aurelii Elegiarum Ad Cynthiam Amicam Suam Liber Secundus Finit Incipit Tertius Liber'; 86 'Sexti Propertii Nautae Aurelii Elegiarum Liber Tercius Finit Incipit Quartus'; 111 'Finis. Decus et laus sit trino deo eiusque almae genetrici ac caelestium reginae Mariae. Anno christi M.CCCCLX calendis Augusti. Iohannes baptista ego ueronaeus dictus auretinus cognomento meo Propertii hunc Monobyblon Diis Deabus Sacrisque uolentibus manu exarata tandem perfeci ...' [The subscription further states that the manuscript was copied for Niccolo Trevisan at the request of one Antonio Santangelo.])

Auretinus is otherwise unknown; his Propertius is affiliated with another Paduan manuscript, Vicenza G.2.8.12. The manuscript may have come to Rome in the library of Paolo Manuzio *giovane* and may be among those purchased by a private collector before the others were acquired for the Vatican by Clement VIII in 1600; it was certainly in Rome soon after, since ff 1-2 contain notes of births in the Censorino family of Rome dated 1613-18. In the eighteenth century it belonged to

Venanzio Lupacchini; some readings are cited in the appendix to Burman-Santen.

Swoboda 27 (p Hanslik); H. Schenkl 'Eine Properzhandschrift' *WS* 3 (1881) 160

96 Rome, Biblioteca dell' Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana 43.D.36 (Rossi 295)

Italy (Florence?), s xv (second half): single humanistic hand, becoming more cursive later in the manuscript. Paper: three watermarks, one identifiable with Briquet 10637: 145x105 mm: i+194 leaves: ruled with a dry point: 14 lines: pentameters indented. Rubricated titles and initials.

Contents 1-44r Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* (= R 18 in ed of Hall [Cambridge 1969]); 45-193r 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobiblos Elegiarum liber incipit Ad Tullum' (71 'Liber secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 121 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Te. incipit'; 159 'Propertii Aurelii Naute liber quartus Incipit'; 193 'Laus deo')

The text of Propertius is close to, perhaps a direct copy of, Laur pl.91 sup 24, written by G.A. Vespucci.

A. Petrucci *Catalogo sommario dei manoscritti del fondo Rossi* (Rome 1977) 144-5

97 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 15 (A.V.50)

Italy (Rome), s xv (1470 or 1471): single cursive humanistic hand, attributed by Muzzioli to Giulio Pomponio Leto, rubricated by Bartolomeo Sanvito. Parchment: 163x109 (112x55) mm: ii+109+i leaves (only f ii is early and of parchment): ruled vertically with a dry point on hair side, horizontally with ink on both sides: 30 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10}, 2^{10} (-1, 2), $3\text{-}12^{10}$: vertical catchwords. No titles executed for poems except on ff 9, 30, 108-9, where they are in red or in green and red in alternation: titles to works in blue and gold: poems begin with illuminated initials on a square ground of red and green, books and authors with illuminated initials with white vine-stem ornament. Modern binding of plain parchment. 2nd f inc: illic quas mittit

Contents 1-12 Tibullus, beginning *mutilus* and with order disturbed (f 1 = 2.5.110-2.6.46; ff 2-9 = 3.2.23-3.6.64, 3.18, 3.8-3.14, 3.16-3.17, 3.18.1, 3.19, 3.15, 3.20; ff 9-12 = 3.7); 13 blank; 14-82 'Auli Propertii Cynthia' (26 Book 2 begins; 49 Book 3 begins; 66 Book 4 begins; 82 Propertius ends); 83-109 Catullus, ending through damage at 107.8

Muzzioli showed that the manuscript belongs to a series copied for Leto's pupil Fabio Mazzatosta about 1470 and rubricated by Sanvito. Leto used the medieval manuscript discovered by Poggio, and his copy can be used to reconstruct its text. A very early shelfmark ('H.VI.8') is inside the front cover.

Swoboda 26 (103 Hanslik); Moneti et al, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense* (Rome 1949) 47-50; G. Muzzioli 'Due nuovi codici autografi di Pomponio Leto' *IMU* 2 (1959) 337-51, tav xxx; Thomson n 91 (54-5)

98 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 915 (A.III.41)

Italy (Naples), s xv (ca 1480-90): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Gian Rainaldo Mennio. Parchment: 254x161 (175 x95) mm: ii+93 leaves (the modern foliation begins from the second flyleaf): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{4} (-4): vertical catchwords. No titles executed: books begin with larger, poems with smaller illuminated initials with vine-stem ornament (those for books are extended into small friezes and decorated with small animals): f 2 is surrounded by a gold-edged frieze of vine-stem work adorned with birds, rabbits, and *putti* playing instruments and containing miniatures of baskets of flowers and lemons: the central part of the page is divided in two, the lower part containing the first four lines of text and an illuminated initial with vine-stem decoration and a leopard, the upper part a large miniature of the Muses and Pegasus at Hippocrene, with two temples on hills in the background. Modern binding. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Ferte per extremas

Contents 2-94 Propertius, beginning without title (19 Book 2 begins; 50v Book 3 begins; 73v Book 4 begins; 94 'Finis Laus deo. Iohan rainaldus Mennius Surrentinus Scripsit')

Mennio was one of the leading Neapolitan scribes of the end of the century; his fame today has been somewhat eclipsed by that of Sinibaldi. His earliest dated work seems to be Bologna BU 2696, written in 1465. *MD* II pl CLXV illustrates his script (Paris BN lat 2231). Other manuscripts copied by him are listed in Mazzatinti *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli*, de Marinis *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, and *Colophons* 11094-114. The present codex belonged later to one Antonius Milesius (ff 1v, 19), to the library of San Silvestre on the Quirinal in Rome, and to the Roman College of Jesuits. Ludovici (below) attributes the decoration to the 'manner' of Gioacchino de Gigantibus.

Swoboda 26 (104 Hanslik); S.S. Ludovici *La miniatura rinascimentale* (Milan 1966) 143; G.S. Savorini 'Di alcuni codici miniati della Biblioteca Casanatense' *Bibliofilia* 36 (1934) 61-78 with fig 13 (= f 2)

99 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 3227 (A.III.2)

(This manuscript consists of two unrelated codices, ff 1-113 and 114-155; descriptive details, unless otherwise specified, refer only to the first part.) Italy (Umbria or Rome), s xv (ca 1465-70): single cursive humanistic hand, attributed by

M.D. Reeve to Francesco Matturanzio. Paper: watermarks of 1) three mounts with a cross; 2) forequarters of a stag; 3) crown; 4) basilisk, none identifiable with examples in Briquet: 291x 197 (210x120) mm: ii+154+i leaves (the modern foliation, followed here, begins from the first flyleaf): ruled on verso with a dry point: 28-29 lines: pentameters indented. Greek letters are used in place of catchwords. Rubricated titles (violet on ff 93-113): initials in green wash with violet ground and sprays of foliage, none executed after f 30. Modern paperboard binding. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Te bellare

Contents 2-37v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 38-39 blank; 40-113 'Aurelii Propertii Naute Asisinatis Poete Elegiaci Monoblybos Liber Incipit Ad Tullum Quod captus amore Cynthiae Liberari iam non possit'; 53 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Maecoenatem Quod sola puella in scribendis Elegis sibi Materiam praestet. Et se bellis Caesaris componendis Idoneum non esse'; 78 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Liber tertius Incipit. Callimachum et philetam poetas Elegiacos et graecos quos imitatur inuocat ut ipsum Elegiacum doceant carmen et se primum Elegiam inuexisse maiusque post mortem nomen assecuturum dicit'; 96 'Aurelii Propertii Nautae Liber Quartus Incipit. Quam paruis principiis ad ea magna rerum incrementa roma uenerit ostendit. Eius Sacra festosque dies cantaturum se promittit. Sed ab Oro Astronomo deterretur qui per cancrum mali aliquid ei imminere ostendit'; 113 'τέλοσ ὑπὸ φραγκίσκου γράφεντοσ'); 114-155 in another hand: 114-147 Ovid *Amores*; 147v-155 blank (with *probationes*)

The scribe was identified by M.D. Reeve who compared the hand with Perugia Bibl Aug I 102 (Ausonius), written in 1471 and containing a similar subscription. The attribution was confirmed by the article of Perosa (below), which provides examples of signed and dated or attributable manuscripts; of these the nearest in script is Modena Archivio di Stato Mat-Lett b 35, a signed draft of a letter datable to between 1465 and 1471. The present manuscript has on f 155v the note 'F. Francisci ... liber.' A note on f 1, perhaps also in Maturantius' hand, records the presentation of the book to 'Domino et Benefactori nostro optimo et singularissimo' Giovanni Maria da Varano, who ruled Camerino from 1515 until his death in 1527 (Maturantius died in 1518).

Swoboda 26 (72 Hanslik); A. Perosa 'Codici perugini del Poliziano' *Atti del nono convegno di studi umbri Gubbio 22-25 Sept. 1974 'L'umanesimo umbro'* (Perugia 1977)

100 Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana F.93

(The manuscript has been assembled from originally independent books; descriptive details given here apply only to the part containing Propertius.) Italy (Pienza?), s xv (second

half): copied by several humanistic cursive hands (m1 ff 158-288v, 299, 302-340v; m2 ff 289, 295v; m3 ff 289v-290v; m4 ff 291-292r, 293; m5 f 292v; m6 ff 293v-294v; m7 ff 296-298v). Paper: watermark of a hat, similar to Briquet 3370 (Florence 1465-7): 215x141 (120x70) mm: iii+441 leaves (misnumbered by the omission of the true f 32); ruled with crayon both sides of page: 18 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{12}$, 9^{10}, $10\text{-}11^{12}$, 12^{12} (-1), 13^{10}, $14\text{-}15^{12}$: horizontal catchwords, often elaborated with sketches. Rubricated titles: initials, when executed, often adorned with pen sketches of animals, etc. Modern parchment binding.

Contents 1) 1-41 Poems of Johannes Sulpicius Verulanus, printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome, 20 November 1506; 2) 42-150v Latin prose work (identified in early table of contents as 'Petri de Fusignano liber de Medicina, et Consilium de febre pestilentiali'; written in a Gothic hand of s xiv-xv); 151-156 blank; 3) 157 blank; 158-288v 'Lepidissimi Propertii Spoletani Elegiarum Liber Primus Foeliciter Incipit' (181 'Clarissimi uiri propertii Elegiarum liber Primus Explicit. Incipit Secundus'; 222 'Explicit Secundus Propertii Liber: Incipit Tertius'; 251 'Clarissimi Vere Propertii Liber Tercius Explicit Incipit Quartus'; 288v 'Propertii Spoletani Poete Facundissimi Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Finit'); 289-293 'Leodrisius Cribellus Ad Polimniam Musam In Laudem Pientiae Ciuitatis' inc: ( )usa tuum nobis memora decus ordine summi (the work is dated Pienza, 15 February 1464; cf J.L. Smith 'Lodrisio Crivelli ... of Milan and Aeneas Silvius, 1457-1464' *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 [1962] 56-62); 293v 'Ad Amicum' inc: Tu mihi carus eris dum spiritus hos reget artus; 293v-294 (untitled) inc: Quisquis amas uariis palatia picta figuris; 294v-295 blank; 295v-340v Tibullus, preceded by *Vita* and Epitaph, ending at 3.8.24 (4.2.24) through damage; 4) 341-441 'Francisci Petrarcae carmina uulgaria' 341-345 Prose life of Petrarch inc: Franceso petrarcha homo di grande ingengnio e non di men uertu ...; 345-346 sonnets; 346 Latin prose passage inc: Laura propriis Virtutibus illustris et meis longum celebrata carminibus; 346v-441 Italian sonnets

The last part of the manuscript (ff 341-441), signed by the scribe Marcus Zantani, is said to have belonged to S Filippo Neri; the entire collection previously belonged to the Real Società Romana di Storia Patria.

101 Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 85

Italy (Florence), s xv (second quarter): single humanistic bookhand with Gothic traits. Parchment: 235x157 (152x85) mm: 72 leaves: ruled in ink on both sides of page: 28 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{4} (-1, 4): horizontal

catchwords bottom centre. Some rubricated titles: simple blue initials (some marred by fingerprints): f 1 formerly had an illuminated initial with white vine-stem ornament, now cut away. Original binding of tooled brown leather; traces of clasps; clamp on back for securing chain still extant. 2nd f inc: Nec frigium falso

Contents 1-72v Propertius, beginning without title (13v Book 2 begins; 38v 'Finit liber secundus incipit tertius'; 56v 'Explicit liber tertius incipit quartus'; 72v 'Deo gratias explicit liber propertii')

A University bookplate inside the cover gives the earlier shalfmark 'Est.1 Caj.4 Num.2.' On f 1 are found the names of a Dr Forcada and the Spanish humanist Hernán Núñez, which appear in all three Salamanca Propertius manuscripts. The surviving traces of decoration on f 1 establish that Tovar's ascription of the manuscript to the thirteenth century is impossible.

(s and 124 Hanslik); A. Tovar 'Loci Propertiani' *Hommages à Max Niedermann* (Collection Latomus 23) 324-8; id, ed. *Propercio: Elegias* (Barcelona 1963) xxxii-xxxiv; M.T. Belfiore Martire 'El texto de Propercio y los manuscritos salmanticos' *Emerita* 31 (1963) 1-10; A. La Penna *L'integrazione difficile: Un profilo di Properzio* (Turin 1977) 246-7

102 Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 86

Italy, s xv (second half): single angular humanistic hand, annotated by a contemporary hand. Parchment: 230x162 (160x95) mm: i+78 leaves (originally 80): ruled vertically with a dry point on recto only, horizontally in ink on both sides of page: 26 lines: pentameters not indented. 1^{10} (-1), $2\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{10} (-1), $6\text{-}8^{10}$ (the missing folios, which contained 1.1.1-1.2.11 and 2.34.56-3.1.11, were removed for their decorated initials): horizontal catchwords right corner, also a series of letter/number combinations indicating gathering and folio on the recto of each folio in the first half of the gathering. Rubricated titles: simple blue or red initials in alternation for poems: books begin with illuminated initials with vine-stem ornament. Original binding of tooled brown leather; remains of clasps; formerly a clamp on back to secure a chain. 2nd f (= f 1) inc: Et sciat indociles

Contents 1-77v Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.2.12 (13v 'Propercii umbri Meuanii Elegiographi liber Primus explicit. Secundus incipit foeliciter Ad Mecenatem'; Book 3 began on the verso of the folio cut out between the present ff 39 and 40; 59 'Quartus incipit Propercii umbri meuanii Elegiographi liber De origine urbis Romae'; 77v 'Propercii Vmbri Meuanii Elegiographi Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Explicit Foeliciter'); 78 ruled but blank

The earlier University shelfmark is 'Est.1 Caj.4 Num 3.' In addition to Forcada and Núñez, the name of A. Ortiz 'doctor' appears on a parchment pastedown inside the back cover.

(86 Hanslik); bibliography as for Salamanca BU 85.

103 Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 245

Italy (Rome), s xv (1464): single cursive humanistic hand, signed by Paulus Maveziin. Paper: single watermark of tongs, very close to Briquet 14089 (var Rome 1455-6): 216x148 (150x82) mm: iv+82 leaves (flyleaves early but not original; a parchment leaf, probably the original flyleaf, has been cut out after f iv): ruled both sides of page with crayon: 27 lines: pentameters usually not indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{8}, 9^{4}: vertical catchwords. No titles executed except ff 1 and 77v: no initials executed. Original binding of tooled brown leather, with traces of clasps. 2nd f inc: Non sic leucippis

Contents 1-77v 'Aurelii propertii poaete doctissimi diuersa genera carminum' (14 Book 2 begins; 40 Book 3 begins; 59 Book 4 begins; 77v 'Finis per me Paulum Maueziin MCCCCLXIIII principio Sextilis'); 77v-81v ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 82 blank

The manuscript is probably a direct copy of Leningrad Cl. lat.Q.12, written in Rome in 1463. The scribe is probably not Spanish, as La Penna suggests, but rather Dutch or German.

(127 Hanslik); bibliography as for Salamanca BU 85.

104 San Daniele del Friuli, Civica Biblioteca Guarneriana 56

Italy (northeast), s xv (1461 or before): humanistic bookhand, attributed by Zicàri to Battista da Cingoli. Parchment: 143 leaves: 33 lines: pentameters not indented. Rubricated titles: no initials executed.

Contents 1-63 Propertius; 63v-66v ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 67-97r Tibullus; 97v-132v Catullus; 133-143 Maximianus

The Propertius copied for Guarnerio d'Artegna appears in the 1461 inventory of his collection; it is closely related to Venice BN Marc 4384, a Paduan manuscript of 1466.

Swoboda 34; Fischer 37-8 (ϕ Hanslik); Mazzatinti III 118; M. Zicàri 'Il Catullo di Guarnerio d'Artegna' *IMU* 2 (1959) 453-5; Florence Bibl Medicea-Laurenziana *Mostra di codici umanistici di biblioteche friulane* Sept-Dec 1978 34-5 (n 32); Thomson n 93 (56-7)

105 Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli' Intronati I.IX.6

Italy, s xv (in part dated 1480 and 1481): single cursive humanistic hand, with numerous marginal notes and interlinear glosses. Paper: watermarks of a capital *M* and of a Greek cross, neither identifiable with examples in Briquet: 204x143 (160x80) mm: i+120 leaves: ruled both sides of page with pencil as far as f 68, no visible sign of ruling thereafter: 17 lines:

pentameters indented. 1^{12}(-8, 9, 10, 11, 12), 2-3^{10}, 4^{8}, 5-6^{10}, 7^{10} (-6), 8^{4}, 9^{12}, 10^{8}, 11-13^{10}, 14^{4} (-4): horizontal catchwords right corner. Rubricated titles: rubricated initials, often with grotesque faces or animals. Modern paperboard binding. 2nd f inc: Ideo de his

Contents 1-7 Anonymous grammatical text inc: Pedes Bisillabi hi sunt; 8-68 Propertius (Books 1-2 only), beginning without title (28 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 68 Propertius 2 ends); 69-86 'Collecta Supra Elegias Propertii Per Titum Sutrinum' inc: Amores cecinit primus orpheus amissa erudice (a commentary on Book 1, dated 1480 at the conclusion); 86v-119v Commentary of Sutrinus on Propertius 2 (dated 28 June 1481); 120 blank

The text of Propertius has been copied from the Milan edition of 1475. Titus seems otherwise unknown; 'Sutrinus' suggests that he came from Sutri, near Viterbo.

(122 Hanslik); N. Terzaghi 'De codicibus latinis philologicis qui Senis in Bibliotheca publica adservantur' *Bulletino senese* 10 (1903) 407-8

106 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale G.VI.41 (1144)

Italy (Naples?), s xv (1475 or before): copied by a single cursive humanistic hand, with additions by several contemporary and later hands of s xv-xvii. Paper: 215x141 mm: iii+77 leaves: 28 lines: pentameters indented. 1-7^{10}, 8^{10}(-8, 9, 10): horizontal catchwords. Some rubricated titles executed by scribe and by annotators, most omitted: rubricated initials as far as f 21v: f 1 decorated at bottom with a spray of leaves. Modern binding. 2nd f inc: Et sciat indociles

Contents 1-74 'Propertii Aurelii Meuaniensis poete Doctissimi Monobiblos ad Tullum Liber incipit Feliciter' (14 'Aurelii Propercii Poete liber Primus finit Incipit secundus ad sodales et mecenatem quare amores tantum scribit'; 38v Book 3 begins; 54 Book 4 begins; 74 'Finis. Deo Gratias'); 74v blank; 75r Fragmentary exhortation of a martial character, inc: Scio ego commilitones uirtutem uestram uerbis non egere (refers to an attack on Calabria involving Marinus Rufus and the French fleet) added by a hand of s xv/xvi; 75v-77v blank except for notes on 77v added by an early hand, including: 'Orpheu calliopes oeagro nate parente / Atque in bistoniae ciconum rex optime salue'

Further additions by hands of s xvi-xvii appear on f ii^{r} and 74. On f i^{v}, written in capitals by a fifteenth-century hand, appears the motto, 'Virtus Laudata Crescit'; also the name, written small, 'ego angolillus.' On f ii^{r} the name 'iulio pomponio' is written twice. Early shelfmarks include 5208 (f 1), 243 (s xvii?), and K.I.6 (the last from the Royal Library at Turin). The manuscript after correction

served as the exemplar of Besançon 535 (written in Naples in 1475).

Mazzatinti *Inventario* XXVIII 118

107 Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria 725 (791)

Italy (Naples), s xv (1460 or after): written in a single humanistic bookhand, with an extensive marginal commentary (dated 1460 at 1.16.1) in the hand of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, as well as additions by a still later hand. Parchment: 286x199 (199x115) mm: ii+70+ii leaves (the modern foliation, followed here, begins from the first flyleaf): ruled on flesh side with a dry point: 31 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$: horizontal catchwords right corner. No titles executed (most are written small in margin): no initials executed except f 2 (illuminated, with vine-stem decoration on a ground of red, blue, green, and gold): on same folio a coat of arms (shield, top half gold, bottom half blue with three gold discs) surrounded by garland of scroll-work and flowers. Original binding of tooled leather, somewhat restored; traces of clasps at top, side, and bottom. 2nd f inc: Et sciat indociles

Contents 2-71v Propertius, beginning without title ('propercius poeta' has been added by a later hand) (14v Book 2 begins; 38 Book 3 begins; 55 Book 4 begins; 71v 'Finis'); 72 blank

The Propertius is a direct copy of Pontano's (Berlin lat fol 500); the somewhat elementary commentary may have been composed for a particular patron. When de Marinis examined the manuscript it contained another flyleaf (of which I saw no trace) that bore the name of Luca Tonto (1465-80), professor of medicine at Naples. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was in the library of the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes (shelfmark Lit B Mu 3 num 3); it does not seem, however, to have been in the original donation of manuscripts (1550) by Ferdinand of Aragon (the inventory lists only a codex containing Tibullus and Catullus as well, n 346). However it reached Spain, the present manuscript is probably to be identified with n 168 in the royal Neapolitan inventory of 1481. It seems not to have been among the books taken to Valencia in 1529 by the daughters of Queen Isabella. The Propertius listed in an inventory drawn up by Fabio Vigili ca 1508-13 has been identified by Msgr Ruysschaert as former Abbey 5989, now Fondation Martin Bodmer Cod Bod 141 (de Marinis *Supplemento* I App)

Swoboda 41 (107 Hanslik); D. Gutiérrez *Catálogo de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia* III 65; de Marinis II 136

108 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb lat 23 (2168)

Italy (Rome?), s xv (late): copied by two individualistic cursive hands or by a single hand in two varieties of script, signed by Paulus of Viterbo. Parchment: 188x126 (137x75) mm: ii+86+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on verso either in ink or with a dry point: 24-26 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}4^{12}$, $5\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{8}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles and initials, not all executed. Modern binding. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-86v Propertius, beginning without title (16 'Ad Mecenatem Liber II'; 46 'Secundus Liber Aurelii Propertii Finit. Tertius Liber Et Vltimus Incipit'; 67 Book 4 begins; 86 v 'τελοσ: ταυτα εγω παυλοσ απο του υιτερυιου γεγραφα^ τελοσ'

The manuscript seems to have belonged to Latino Latini of Viterbo; the variant readings to the text of Propertius cited in his *Bibliotheca sacra et profana* agree consistently with the frequently eccentric readings of this manuscript.

Swoboda 31 (82 Hanslik); S. Prete *Codices Barberiniani Latini: Codices 1-150* (Vatican City 1968) 33; Pellegrin I 73-4; Simar 89

109 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Barb lat 34 (2508)

Italy (northeast?), s xv: text copied by a single *fere humanistica* hand, annotated from printed editions by a slightly later hand and by another of ca 1600. Paper: watermarks of ring and flower(?) and unicorn(?), neither sufficiently visible to permit identification: 199x155 (140x66) mm: iii+138 leaves: ruled in crayon both sides of page: 32-34 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}2^{10}$, 3^{8}, 4^{6}, $5\text{-}13^{10}$, 14^{8}, 15^{6}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles and initials (flourished initials on ff 49 and 135v). Modern parchment binding. 2nd f inc: Flebis et arsuro

Contents 1-3 Various additions by a sixteenth-century hand, including a reference to Propertius and Cynthia, a life of Catullus (inc: Catullus suauitate carminis et antiquorum uerborum conplicitate ...), Lucan 4.373-81, and citations from Priscian; 4v-35v Tibullus, preceded by *Vita* and Epitaph (with commentary in margin, inc: Tibullus hic uitam agrestem desiderat ...); 36-37 Ovid *Am* 3.9 (with three epitaphs added by the annotator: Marsus'; Ovid *Am* 1.15.27-8; and 'Sub teneris annis tenerorum scriptor amorum'); 37v (further additions by the annotator: Ovid *Tr* 2.465-70, Mart 8.73.5-6 and 14.189; Antonius Volscus *Vita Propertii*); 38-102 'Propertii Vmbri Meuani poetae elegiographi clarissimi Liber primus' (49 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Secundus. Ad Moecenatem'; 71

'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber iii'; 87 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber iiii'; 102 'Finis' followed by Ovid *Rem* 763-4 and Propertius 1.7.24); 102v Life of Propertius inc: Aurelius Propertius elegiae scriptor egregius; 102-103v further additions by annotating hand: life of Catullus, inc: Caius ualerius Catullus nobilis inter latinos lyricos; 'Ant. Parthenii Lacisii Libello suo,' inc: Chare liber superas tecum lature per auras; Mart 10.103.5-6; Pliny *NH* 36.42.154-5 on pumice; Ovid *Tr* 2.427-8; Mart 8.73.7-8 and 14.195; 103v-140v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis (called 'Hextichum Guarini Veronensis'); 141-141v Life of Catullus inc: Verona Venetiae amplissima est ciuitas

This may be the manuscript from which the 1472 de Spira edition was printed. An unknown scholar about 1600 added to the earlier folios of the Propertius a partial collation of a copy now lost.

(96 Hanslik); S. Prete *Codices Barberiniani Latini: Codices 1-150* (Vatican City 1968) 33; Pellegrin I 81-5; Simar 91-2; Ferguson 6-21; Thomson n 98 (56-7)

110 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Barb lat 58 (2167)

Italy (northeast? or Rome?), s xv (second half but probably before 1470): single humanistic bookhand, annotated by the same. Paper: two watermarks, 1) unicorn's head, closest to Briquet 15810 (Ferrara 1426) or 15813 (Ferrara 1445); 2) stag, same type as Briquet 3299 (Bologna 1450-5): 213x157 (165x110) mm: i+70+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point: 30-31 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: rubricated initials for poems, none executed for books. Modern binding (preserving fragments of an earlier one). 2nd f inc: Non ida et

Contents 1-68 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Ad Cynthiam Liber Primus Incipit' (12v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos liber primus ad Cynthiam atque alios explicit. Eiusdem Incipit Secundus feliciter'; 35v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Ad Cynthiam et ad alios liber secundus explicit. Eiusdem Tercius Incipit feliciter'; 42 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Ad Cynthiam aliosque liber tercius explicit. Incipit eius feliciter quartus. Propertius. Cynthia'; 68 'τελοσ'); 68-68v Anon, derivation of *Monobyblos* (cf Appendix); 69-70 blank

Perhaps the exemplar of Vat lat 1612; in that case, its owner may be concealed under the initials 'B.M.' found in that manuscript's colophon (conceivably a member of the Maffei family, which had branches in both Verona and Rome).

Swoboda 31 (73 Hanslik); S. Prete *Codices Barberiniani Latini: Codices 1-150* (Vatican City 1968) 99-100; Pellegrin I 108; Simar 93; A.R. Raia *Barberini Manuscripts 57-66 and*

121-130 (Diss Fordham 1965) 357 (cf *Dissertation Abstracts* 27 [1965] A 2197)

111 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Capponianus 196

Italy, s xv (third quarter?): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 174x113 (115x65) mm: iv+138+iv leaves (all flyleaves modern except those immediately flanking the manuscript): simple frame ruled with a dry point, sometimes ruled horizontally in ink as well: 21 lines: pentameters indented in Tibullus only. $1\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{10} (-9, 10), $11\text{-}14^{10}$: horizontal catchwords bottom centre (vertical f 10v). A few rubricated titles executed: illuminated initials with vine-stem ornament on ff 1 and 99. Modern binding of red calf with arms of Leo XIII and Cardinal G. Pitra (librarian 1886-9). 2nd f inc: Heu referet quanto

Contents 1-97v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobiblos Incipit' (18 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit'; 51v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Incipit'; 75 Book 4 begins; 97v Propertius ends at 4.11.62 through damage); 98 Index of the poems of Tibullus inc: Epistola prima quod danda est opera amori; 99-137v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 137v-138 Letter of Lilius Castellanus to Antonius Iacobus Venerius inc: Tibullum a me superioribus diebus cotidiana instantia flagitasti; 138 Elegy of Lilius Castellanus 'in claram puellam ... pro Cornelio Garatano' inc: Sic mihi deficiunt media sub nocte tenebre

Castellanus is known as a translator of Lucian. The letter to Venerius (another copy in Bibl Casanatense 869, f 49v) states that a copy of Tibullus is to be given to Ludovicus Pontanus, the noted canonist (1403-39). The early parchment flyleaf comes from some document of the fourteenth or fifteenth century and contains a number of names, including Ser Ormanno *notario*, Ser Manno of Parma, also a notary, and Arigho Baldanze. The name of an early owner, Bernardino Leonelli, appears on the same leaf. Purchased in 1709 for the Marchese Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, whose collection was willed to the Vatican in 1745.

Swoboda 30-1 (132 Hanslik); G. Cozzo *I codici capponiani della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City 1897) 273; Pellegrin I 249-50; Simar 88

112 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Chigi H.IV.122

Italy, s xv (third quarter): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 206x146 (122x85) mm: ii+102+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled vertically with a dry point on flesh side, horizontally with ink on both sides of page: 21 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}12^{8}$, 13^{6}: horizontal catchwords in corner with consecutive Roman numerals. Rubricated titles,

not all executed (that on f 1 alternates red and blue): poems begin with small illuminated initials on a square ground of red, blue, or green with white or yellow penwork, books with illuminated initials with modest vine-stem ornament. Parchment binding of s xvii stamped in gold with emblems of the Chigi family; remains of ties still extant. 2nd f inc: Quid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-97v 'Propertii Poete Laepidissimi Elegiarum Liber Primus Incipit' (18 'Propertii elegiarum liber primus feliciter explicit incipit secundus ad Mecaenatem'; 50v 'Propertii elegiarum liber secundus feliciter explicit incipit tercius'; 74v 'Propertii elegiarum liber tercius feliciter explicit incipit quartus'; 97v 'Finit'); 98-100 blank; 101 Two copies of a short Italian prose passage attributed to Iohannes Baccius of Arezzo inc: Natura le dico e de natura propria

It appears from a letter of Carolus Arretinus to Tortelli that Baccius was seeking a position in the Curia about 1450 (Cosenza I 360). The Propertius may have been copied directly from Paris BN lat 8237. Earlier Chigi shelfmarks include 149 and 2236; the Chigi collection joined the Vatican Library in 1923.

Swoboda 31 (55 Hanslik); Pellegrin I 292

113 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Chigi H.IV.123

Italy, s xv-xvi: copied by several hands of increasingly late date, m1 (formal and early) ff 1-50, m2 (cursive and early) ff 51-70, m3 (cursive and late, signed by Gabriel Turrius) ff 71-115. Paper: watermarks of 1) flower, same type as Briquet 6658 (ff 1-50); 2) flower, similar to Briquet 6651 (Siena 1452-4)(ff 51-70); 3) goose, similar to Briquet 12149 (Rome 1484)(ff 71-125): 199x141 (132x85 m1, 132x70 m2 and m3) mm: vi+125+iv leaves (the outermost flyleaves at either end are modern; the next pair in are of parchment, the original covering of the manuscript; the remaining flyleaves at the beginning are original): m1 and m2 ruled with pencil, m3 with a dry point: 16 lines m1, 19-20 m2, 18 m3: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}12^{10}$, 13^{12} (-6): horizontal catchwords bottom centre m1, vertical m2 and m3. Titles in same ink as text m1 and m2, rubricated m3: no initials executed. Modern parchment binding. 2nd f inc: Cura neque assueto

Contents 1-115 'Ad Tullum' m1: 'Propertii Vmbri Liber Primus' added by a later hand (21 'Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Mecennatem' m1: 'Propertii Vmbri Liber secundus Incipit' *m rec*; 60v 'Vmbri Propertii Liber Tertius' *m rec*; 88 'Finis tertii libri Incipit Quartus De Roma'; 114-115 'Finis. Propertii Vmbri Meuanii Elegiarum Libri Finiunt Foeliciter. Deo Gratias Amen. Propertius Poeta.

Turrius hoc gabriel carisque ascrissit amicis:
Qui spectas paphium, candide lector, opus,
Vt decus, ut nomen, uiuant ut scripta properti
Sitque operis tanti copia, lector, haue.
Finis per me Gabrielem')

115-v-125v blank except for *probationes*

Gabriel perhaps recopied the latter part of an already damaged codex. The early flyleaf contains a list of spices in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand ('de castoreo, de pipere, de zinzibere,' etc) and the name of an early owner, Guido Bonatti; he is known to have copied at least three manuscripts, Vat lat 11487 (Martial), Chigi H.IV.121 (Catullus and Tibullus), and Chigi H.V.169 (Ovid); cf J. Ruysschaert *Codices Vaticani Latini 11414-11709* 124, *Survie des classiques latins* (Vatican City 1973) 79-80. Other names appearing on the early cover are 'Gustanza' (written in both Latin and Greek characters) and Antonius Bardella. Early Chigi shelfmarks include 1214 and 2225.

Swoboda 32 (80 Hanslik); Pellegrin I 292

114 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob lat 1370

Italy, s xv (Rome, third quarter: de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 218x140 (150x80) mm: i+97+i leaves (flyleaves modern; the modern foliation, followed here, skips three folios and numbers 100): ruled hair side with a dry point: 26 lines: pentameters not indented in Propertius. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{8}, 10^{10}, 11^{2}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles (none after f 60): ff 1, 89 illuminated initials with white vine-stem decoration forming a small frieze: poems begin with illuminated initials on a square ground of blue, violet, red, green, or orange. Modern binding with arms of Pius IX. 2nd f inc: Crede mihi non

Contents 1-75 'Monobiblos Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Tullum Foeliciter Incipit Vel Elegiarum Secundum Nonium Marcellum' (15 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Primus Explicit Eiusdem Secundus Incipit Foeliciter'; 40v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Explicit Eiusdem Tertius Incipit Foeliciter'; 57 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Explicit Eiusdem IIII Incipit Foeliciter'; 75v Propertius ends); 76-88v Giovanni Marrasio *Angelinetum* inc: Angelina meo si respondebis amori; 89-97 Anon, sequence of poems on the preparations for the proposed crusade of Pius II (89 inc: Maxime pontificum caelo cui summus ab alto; 91 inc: Nunc ad uos magni heroes mea carmina uerto; 93 inc: Sed quid ego immeritos uerbis atque ore lacesso; 94 inc: Necnon occiduis qua sol iubar occulit undis; inc: Itala gens tanto potis est opponere bello; 95 inc: Non erit auxilio nobis saturnia proles)

Probationes on f 97v include Ovid *Fasti* 2.235-6. The poem on the crusade of Pius II suggests a date not much later than 1464.

Swoboda 32 (75 Hanslik); Pellegrin I 538-9; Simar 84-5; G. Resta 'Per una edizione critica dei carmi di Giovanni Marrasio' *Rinascimento* 5 (1954) 280

115 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob lat 1514

Italy (Padua), s xv (ca 1460-5 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand, identified by de la Mare as that of Franciscus de Camuciis, annotated by Ludovico Regio. Parchment: 228x140 (160x92) mm: iii+83+i leaves (flyleaves modern; the modern foliation, followed here, begins from f iii): no visible ruling: 25-28 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{6} (-4, 5, 6): vertical catchwords. Titles (not all executed) in capitals of red, blue, green, and violet (the last have faded in many places, leaving gaps in the titles): simple red initials for poems: books begin with illuminated initials with plaited vine-stem decoration, with leaves at the edges. Modern binding of plain parchment with the arms of Leo XIII and Cardinal Pitra. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 2-82 '(P)rop(e)rti(i) Aur(e)lii N(a)uta(e) Vmb(r)i Mo(n)obi(b)los Inc(i)pit (A)d Tu(l)lum' (letters in parentheses have faded) (16 '(P)ro. A(ur.) Naut(a)e II A(d) Mec(en)atem'; 43v Book 3 begins; 63v Book 4 begins; 82 Propertius ends); 82v-84 blank (with *probationes*, etc)

The identification of the scribe rests upon comparison with Brit Libr Harley 2726, copied and signed in 1463 and rubricated by Bartolomeo Sanvito (cf A. Fairbank in *Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting* 42 [Spring 1965] 6 pl I). Dr de la Mare also identified the annotator as Ludovico Regio; this manuscript is called V by editors, while Regio's additions are cited as V2. V might have belonged first to Agostino Maffei; it did belong later to the Roman College of Jesuits, to Cardinal Sirleto (shelfmark n 14), and to the Duca d'Altemps. Its earlier Ottoboni shelfmarks are V.3.32 and E.1.5 On f ii^{r} appear the early initials 'B.C.'; on f 82 are apparently the Greek majuscule letters tau, sigma, and pi. Also in an early hand on f 82 appears the motto, 'Dilige pro tantis: Sat mihi uester amor: Sabbe.' Bibliography as for Deventer I 82 with the following additions:

Swoboda 32; Pellegrin I 601-2; Simar 95-6; Plessis 18-22; E. Chatelain *Paléographie des classiques latins* II pl ciii; J. Ruysschaert 'Recherche des deux bibliothèques romaines Maffei des xv^{e} et xvi^{e} siècles' *Bibliofilia* 60 (1958) 306-55

116 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob lat 1550

Italy, s xv (second quarter): originally two separate manuscripts (ff 1-39 and 40-103), the first copied by two different

humanistic hands with Gothic traits, the second by a single such hand. Paper: various watermarks; three in the part containing Propertius, 1) capital *M* with crown, close to Briquet 8400 (Palermo 1427); 2) compass, somewhat like Briquet 4463 (Passau 1429); 3) anchor, close to Briquet 430 (Perpignan 1420): 279x220 (190x100 and 185x105 in Catullus, 170x95 in Propertius) mm: i+103+i leaves (flyleaves modern): Propertius ruled with a dry point: 31-36 lines in Catullus, 32-36 in Propertius: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}2^{10}$, 3^{8}, $4\text{-}10^{10}$, 11^{6} (-6): horizontal catchwords. Titles not executed, but written in margin as guide to rubricator: no initials executed. Modern binding of plain parchment with arms of Pius IX. 2nd f inc: Tibi hec fuisse (in Propertius, Unica nec desit)

Contents 1-36 Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 40-99v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Primus Incipit' added by a later hand (50v *in mg* 'propertii aurelii naute liber primus explicit incipit secundus'; 70v *in mg* 'propertii aurelii naute liber secundus explicit tertius incipit feliciter'; 85v *in mg* 'propertii aurelii naute liber tertius explicit incipit feliciter quartus' 99v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Feliciter Explicit uel Liber elegiarum Propertii finit'); 100-101v 'Antonii panormite elegia ad lamolam' inc: Desine me placida uerbis abducere terra (Walther 4281); 102r blank; 102v-103v ancient and medieval inscriptions, one of them said to have been found 'in nostra uinea apud colosseum in uia merulana'

The text of Propertius is a close descendant of Vat lat 3273. The two parts of the manuscript, originally independent, were joined at a relatively late date. The Catullus seems to have been n 112 in Mercati's library 'X' (see below) and apparently belonged to Marcellus II as well.

Swoboda 32 (116 Hanslik); Pellegrin I 608-9; Simar 83-4; G. Mercati *Codici latini Pico Grimani* Studi e Testi 75 (Vatican City 1938) 253; B.L. Ullman *The Identification of the Manuscripts of Catullus Cited in Statius' Edition of 1566* (Chicago 1908) 7; id, 'Additions and Corrections to *CIL*' *CP* 4 (1909) 190-8; Thomson n 99 (56-7)

117 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Ottob lat 2003

Italy (northeast?). s xv (second half): single cursive humanistic hand. Parchment: 258x180 (160x118) mm: iii+88+i leaves (flyleaves modern except ff i-ii): ruled on flesh side with a dry point: 24 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10} (-1), $2\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{10} (-10): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple red initials. Plain modern binding of parchment with arms of Pius IX and Cardinal Pitra. 2nd f (= f 1) inc: Quid iuuat ornato

Contents 1-87 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.2.1 (15v 'Propertii Liber Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 45 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Incipit Foeliciter'; 66v 'Aurelii

Propertii Nautae Liber Quartus Incipit Foeliciter'; 87 'θεῷ χάρις'); 87v-88 blank

The text is closely affiliated with San Daniele 56 and Marciana 4208 and 4384, the last a Paduan copy of 1466. Earlier Ottoboni shelfmarks are V.4.17 and D.2.11

Swoboda 33 (70 Hanslik); Pellegrin I 739; Simar 96

118 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Pal lat 910

(Originally two separate manuscripts [ff 2-9 and 10-357]; descriptive details, unless otherwise specified, pertain only to the second part.) Italy (Rimini?), s xv (1467 in part): copied by two humanistic bookhands, the first (signed 'J.f.') ff 11-91v, the second ff 91v *ad fin.* Paper: watermark of *M* with cross, not in Briquet: 335x207 (185x85) mm: i+357+i leaves: ruled in crayon, both sides of page: 32 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{8}, $2\text{-}29^{12}$, 30^{12} (-5, 6, 7, 8, 12) (the two central bifolia of the last gathering were lost after the modern foliation was written): horizontal catchwords bottom centre. No titles or initials executed. Modern binding of parchment with arms of Pius XII and Cardinal Mercati (fragments of earlier bindings done under Urban VIII and Pius IX are preserved inside the front cover). 2nd f (= f 12) inc: Flebis non sinit

Contents 2-9 Dares Phrygius (copied s xiv-xv: watermark of a bell, similar to Briquet 3974 [Bergamo 1397]); 11-42 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*, copyist's subscription ('... foeliciter explicit die nono mensis Iunii 1467 per me J.f. ad J.p.'), and Propertius 2.24.33-34; 42v-78v Ovid *Ars amatoria*; 78v-91v Ovid *Remedia amoris* followed by another subscription, giving the date 18 June 1467); 91v 'Epitaphium dantis' (by Bernardo Cannaccio; the first work copied by the second hand) inc: Iura monarchie superos flegethonta lacusque (Walther 9962); 92-94v blank; 95-111v *Ilias latina*; 112 'Epitaphium Hectoris' inc: Defensor patrie iuuenum fortissimus hector (*PLM* IV 149); 'Epitaphium Achillis' inc: Pellides ego sum thetidisque nouissima proles (*PLM* IV 148); 112-113 ps-Ovid *De lombardo*; 113v-114 ps-Ovid *De pulice*; 114-114v ps-Ovid *Amores* 3.5; 115-115v ps-Ovid *De philomena*; 115v-116 untitled Latin poem inc: (T)igrides indomite ratigant rugiuntque leones; 116-118v Lactantius *De phoenice*; 119 'Ad Illustres dominos et principes dominum Mantuanum Dominum Pandulfum et Malatestam Famosissimi oratoris Antonii Luschi Cancellarii Ducis Mediolani Versus incipiunt destinati dum Bononia Armata capere manu pro prefacto illustrissimo D.' (*sic*) inc: Magnanimi heroes italae tria sydera terrae; 119v 'ouidius de speculo medicine' inc: Nec tibi displiceam quia sic sum corpore paruus (Walther 11675; ps-Ovid *De herbarum uirtutibus*); 120-

123 ps-Ovid *Her* 15 (Sappho to Phaon); 123v-125 untitled; called in subscription 'Isotae Ariminensis Regi et diuo suo Sigismondo pandulfo epistola illustris' inc: ( )uam tibi mittit amans princeps animose salutem (Walther 15174; from the *Liber Isottaeus* of Basinio Basini); 125-128 ps-Ovid *Nux*; 128-129v Ovid *Medicamina faciei femineae*; 129v-131v 'Ouidius de mirabilibus mundi' inc: ( )ic serpens uentis permitior atque sagittis (Walther 18131 or 8095); 132-132v untitled; identified in subscription as 'ouidius de quatuor elementis seu de quatuor complexionibus hominum' inc: ( )Vctor apud grecos medicine primus apollo (Walther 1673); 132v-133r (untitled) inc: Rusticus immenso cepit feruescere motu (Walther 16970); 133v-139v untitled; identified in subscription as 'Liber ouidii puellarum' inc: ( )Vmmi uictoris fierem cum uictor amoris (Walther 18787); 139-149v Ovid *Ibis*; 149v-205v Ovid *Tristia*; 205v-243v Ovid *Amores*; 243v-305v Propertius, beginning without title (255 Book 2 begins; 275 Book 3 begins; 290v Book 4 begins; 305v 'Finis'); 306-342 Catullus, followed by verses of de Campesanis; 342v-349 Mafeo Vegio, continuation of the *Aeneid* 1-447 inc: ( )Vrnus ut extremo confectus marte reliquit (On ff 343v-349 only the last line of each page has been copied complete; the others are written only to the caesura or the first full word after that position.)

This volume may represent an attempt to assemble all of 'classical' Latin elegiac verse into a single book. The poem of Antonio Loschi on f 119, addressed to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta among others, and the extract from the *Liber Isotaeus* of Basinio Basinii, the most outstanding poet associated with Rimini in that period, suggest that the compiler may have lived in Rimini (perhaps Sigismondo himself?). The date 1467 would coincide very closely with Sigismondo's financial ruin; he died the following year. The text of Propertius, very inaccurately copied, was twice used by Giulio Bonazzi as the principal basis of an edition.

(π Hanslik); H. Stevenson and G.B. de Rossi *Codices Palatini latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Vatican City 1886) I 323-5; Simar 89-90; Thomson n 103 (56-7)

119 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Pal lat 1652

Italy (Naples: de la Mare), s xv (1459 or before): two humanistic bookhands, identified by de la Mare as those of Giannozzo Manetti and his son Agnolo. Parchment: 269x171 (181x88) mm: i+132+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on hair side only with a dry point: 37-38 lines: pentameters indented only in Tibullus. $1\text{-}5^{10}$, 6^{12}, $7\text{-}13^{10}$: horizontal catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue initials everywhere except ff 1, 12, 18, 22v, 26v, 60, where they are illuminated, with white vine-stem

decoration on a ground of green and pink. Plain modern binding of parchment with arms of Pius IX and Cardinal Angelo Mai (librarian 1853-4). 2nd f inc: Tu manes ne lede

Contents 1-28 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*, with additional epitaph, inc: Sub teneris annis tenerorum scriptor amorum; 28v-60 Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 60-70 Calpurnius Siculus *Bucolica*; 70-74v Nemesianus *Bucolica*; 74v-129v 'Propertii Vmbri Meuanii Poete Elegiographi Clarissimi Incipit Liber Primus' (84v 'Explicit Liber Primus. Incipit Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 103 'Explicit Liber Secundus Propertii. Incipit Tertius Eiusdem'; 117 'Propertii Vmbri Meuanii Poete Elegiographi Clarissimi Liber Tertius Explicit. Incipit Quartus'; 129v 'Propertii Vmbri Meuanii Poete Elegiographi Clarissimi Liber Quartus Explicit Feliciter'); 130-131 blank; 132 lines of Petrus Odus Montopolitanus on the death of G. Manetti: 'Hebrei patriis lachrimas auxere latinis / et greci, dum te Iannocte queruntur ademptum.'

Swoboda 33 (1 Hanslik); G. Cagni 'I codici Vaticani Palatino-latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti' *Bibliofilia* 62 (1960) 19-43; J. Delz 'Ein unbekannter Brief von Pomponius Laetus' *IMU* 9 (1966) 436 n1; L. Castagna *I bucolici latini minori: Una ricerca di critica testuale* (Florence 1976) 33-4; Simar 90-1; Thomson n 104 (58-9)

120 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Urb lat 641

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1465-70 de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand, attributed by de la Mare to 'Sinibaldus C.' Parchment: 258x170 (158x91) mm: iii+158+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled in ink, both sides of page: 28 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{12} (-12), $2\text{-}15^{10}$, 16^{8}: horizontal catchwords in corner. Rubricated titles (blue and gold f 1): simple red or blue initials for poems: books begin with illuminated initials with vine-stem decoration, the first in each author being extended as a frieze: f i^{v} has a list of contents in alternating lines of blue and gold capitals within a wreath, f 1 two initials on square grounds and a wreath for a coat of arms (not executed). Modern binding of red calf, with the arms of Pius VI and Cardinal Zelada (1779-1801). 2nd f inc: Phasellus ille

Contents 1-42v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 43-79v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 80 blank; 81-154v 'Propertii Aurelii Poetae Clarissimi Naute Monobiblos Elegiarum Liber Incipit Ad Tullum' (94 'Propertii Aurelii Poetae Clarissimi Nautae Elegiarum Monobiblos Liber Explicit Primus. Incipit Eiusdem Secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 119 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Poetae Clarissimi Monobiblos Elegiarum Liber Explicit Secundus. Incipit Eiusdem Tertius'; 137v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Poetae Clarissimi Elegiarum Liber

explicit III. Incipit Eiusdem Quartus'; 154v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Elegiarum Liber Quartus Et Vltimus Finit. Laus Deo'); 155-158 ruled but blank (except Tibullus 2.2.61-62 written at the top of f 157)

'Sinibaldus C.' is known from having thus signed Bibl Laur Fies 43, dated 1461. His Propertius is a copy of the same exemplar as Paris 8233 and Cod Bod 141, dated 1465 and 1466 respectively; thus it derives from Poggio's copy and is necessary for the reconstruction of the archetype.

Swoboda 34; C. Stornajolo *Codices Urbinates Latini* (Vatican City 1912) II 155; Simar 83; Hosius 557-88; O. Neumann 'De Propertii codicibus Urbinate 641, Lusatico, Vaticano 3273' (Diss Greifswald 1914); Thomson n 105 (58-9)

121 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 1611

Italy, s xv (Rome, ca 1470 de la Mare): copied by several humanistic hands (m1 ff 1-20, 28 [eight lines only]; m2 ff 21-95; m3 ff 101-149; m4 ff 151-220). Paper: various watermarks, 1) ff 1-150, horn, similar to Briquet 7686, and a tower, same type as Briquet 15909; 2) ff 151-220, an arrow, close to Briquet 6276: 203x143 (143x85) mm: ii+220+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): no visible signs of ruling: 22 lines: pentameters not indented in Propertius. $1\text{-}22^{10}$: vertical catchwords (horizontal in gatherings 8, 9). Some rubricated titles and initials, not all executed. Modern binding of red calf, arms of Pius VI and Cardinal Zelada. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-94 'Propertii Liber primus Ad Cynthiam Amicam' (17 'Propertii liber ij incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 49 Book 3 begins; 72 Book 4 begins; 94 'Finis'); 94v-100 blank; 101-141 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 142-146 ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 146v untitled Latin poem inc: Tantum ego carminibus superaui sapho puellas (Walther 19019); 146v-149v untitled Latin poem inc: Perfide Quintili si te tenet aduena pelex (Walther 13980); 150 blank; 151-220 'Ausonii Poetae Viri Consularis Epigrammatum et Aepistolarum Fragmenta' (listed in full by Nogara below)

The text combines strong influences both from Salutati's copy (Laur pl.36,49) and from a group of Roman manuscripts (Leningrad Cl.lat.Q.12 and Salamanca BU 245).

(117 Hanslik); B. Nogara *Codices Vaticani Latini* (Vatican City 1912) III 108-9; Simar 88-9

122 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 1612

Italy (Rome?), s xv (1470): single humanistic bookhand, signed by Johannes Hyspalensis (ie, from Spello), extensively annotated by Gaspar Manius and by another hand. Paper: watermark of a hat, not close to anything in Briquet, and another,

close to Briquet 7834 (Rome 1470): 235x167 (172x110) mm: ii+ 79+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point: 27 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{10} (-10): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue initials except f 1^{v}, which has an illuminated initial with vine-stem decoration on a ground of red and green. Modern parchment binding with arms of Pius VI and Cardinal Zelada. 2nd f inc: En agedum dominae

Contents i^{r} The manuscript, incomplete at the start, now begins with the conclusion of a miscellany of prose and verse passages from various sources (Seneca *Epistulae*, Horace *Odes*, Apuleius); 1v-77v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Ad Cynthiam Liber primus incipit feliciter' (15 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Liber primus ad Cynthiam atque alios feliciter finit. Eiusdem Incipit secundus non minus iucunde quam scite'; 41 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos ad Cynthiam et ad alios liber secundus explicit. Eiusdem tertius incipit'; 59v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos ad Cynthiam aliosque Liber Tertius explicitur. Incipit Quartus'; 77v Propertius ends); 77v anon, derivation of *Monobyblos* (cf Appendix); 78 copyist's subscription: 'Scripsi Ego *Gaspar Manius Romanus* et ultro et Iocunde Anno Mcccclxx*x* Kalendis Decembris fauente mihi clarissimo atque sanctissimo uate *Petreio ac Pomponio omnium hominum sapientissimo* principe meo B.M. cuius et habui emendatissimum exemplar eius propria manu confectum' (the underlined letters have been written by the annotator over erasures in the copyist's original or, in the case of the date, have simply been added); 78r two Latin poems addressed to Antonio Tridentone (cf Göttingen philol 111^{b} and Ravenna 277): 'Antonio Tridentoni Iacobus Bononiensis' inc: Qui nostras placido est solatus carmine curas; 'Nicolaus Vulpes Vicentinus Tridentoni' inc: Incipit a teneris nimio succensus amore; 78v-79 epitaph of Sardanapallus

That the manuscript is incomplete can be deduced from the incomplete state of the *zibaldone* that begins it and from the system of Roman numerals found in the upper right corner of the first leaf of each gathering, which now begins with *V*. The commentary of Manius ends early in Book 4. One wonders whether the notes added by the second hand were written by Petreius. It may be significant that Manius did not change the initials B.M.: if he did receive the manuscript from someone with those initials, it could have been Benedetto Maffei, since Florence BN Magl VI 191 contains on ff 73-80 a letter of Maffei to Manius, dated 2 August 1486, thanking him for a letter of consolation on the death of his son. Manius was also one of the contributors to the collection of epigrams on the death of Ursino Lanfredini (cf R. Weiss 'In obitu Ursini Lanfredini: A Footnote of the Literary History of Rome Under Pope Innocent VIII' *IMU* 2 [1959] 361).

(118 Hanslik); Nogara III 109; Simar 93-5; Ullman 298-9

123 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 3188

Italy, s xv (Ferrara, third quarter: de la Mare): single humanistic bookhand. Parchment: 200x130 (135x90) mm: ii+87+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point, hair side: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{10} (-8, 9, 10): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue or red initials except f 1, which has an illuminated initial with squarish gold vine-stem decoration, with friezes of the same on three sides of the page, on a ground of red, blue, and green. Modern binding of parchment, with arms of Piux IX and Cardinal Mai. 2nd f inc: Crede mihi non

Contents 1-85v 'Sexti propertii Nautae elegiarum liber primus incipit' (15v 'Sexti propertii Nautae elegiarum liber primus finit incipit Secundus'; 43v 'Sexti A. propertii Nautae elegiarum Liber II explicit et incipit III'; 65 'Sexti A. propertii Nautae elegiarum liber III explicit incipit quartus et ultimus'; 85v 'Explicit')

The text is related to Vicenza G.2.8.12, with some slight Petrarchan influence in the first book. The scribe appears to be the same that wrote a copy of Cicero *De officiis* illustrated (pl 38) in a Hoepli auction catalogue of 3-4 December 1929 (identified p 48 as Battista Panetti).

Swoboda 28 (71 Hanslik); Simar 92

124 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 3272

Italy (Rome), s xv (second half): copied by two cursive humanistic hands (m1 ff 1-85, 137v-185v; m2 ff 91-137) with additions by a contemporary hand on ff 187-195v and by a later one on f 90v. Parchment: 200x116 (127x71) mm: iii+194+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled in ink on both sides of page: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}11^{10}$, $12\text{-}13^{8}$, $14\text{-}19^{10}$, 20^{8}: horizontal catchwords. Rubricated titles (in gold on f 1): simple blue initials for poems, illuminated initials with vine-stem ornament for major divisions, that on f 1 extended into a frieze (decoration attributed by Ruysschaert to Gioacchino de Gigantibus): coat of arms on f 1 identified by Ruysschaert as belonging to Marcantonio Altieri. Modern binding of red calf. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents ii^{v} Anon, Life of Propertius inc: Propertius umber ex asisio oppido; 1-85 'Propertii Vmbri Nautae Poetae Clarissimi Elegya Foeliciter Incipit' (16 'Liber II Ad Lectores'; 44 Book 3 begins; 65 Book 4 begins; 85 'τελοσ'); 85v-90v ruled but blank, with addition on f 90v by a hand of s xvi of 'Aemilii de Bucchabellis Epygramma' inc: Quam iuuenis quam pauper erat, tamen ecce Tibullus; 91-132v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph; 132v-137 ps-Ovid *Her* 15; 137v-185v Catullus; 186 blank; 187-195v 'Cornelii Seueri HaEtna' (= *Aetna* 1-432); 196 blank

Altieri (1450-1522) was a follower of Leto, but his Propertius is not affiliated with any other manuscript that can be

connected with the Roman Academy. Buccabella was also a member of the Academy, but the hand that added his epigram to f 90v is probably not his. According to Paolo Cortesi's *De hominibus doctis*, he died a violent and premature death; this hand seems too late, for Buccabella had already written a fourth book of epigrams by 1478 (Ottob lat 2280). Lipsius occasionally cites this Propertius in his *Antiquae lectiones* as the 'codex Fulvii,' that is, of Fulvio Orsini, whose collection passed to the Vatican in 1603.

Swoboda 29 (115 Hanslik); Simar 86; J. Ruysschaert 'Miniaturistes "romains" sous Pie II' in *Enea Silvio Piccomini: Papa Pio II* (Siena 1968) 276 n 203; Thomson n 111 (58-9)

125 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 3273

Italy (Florence), s xv (second quarter, probably 1427): copied by a single humanistic bookhand, correctly attributed by Fulvio Orsini to Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita), with some notes in a slightly later hand, perhaps that of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, and variants in a still later hand. Parchment: 258x147 (170x97) mm: ii+85+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 25-26 lines: pentameters indented (except ff 81-83). $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{6} (-6): horizontal catchwords in corner. Rubricated titles (violet on f 81); simple blue initials for poems: books begin with yellow wash initials with vine-stem ornament on a ground of red and green, that on f 1 having also a pygmy (?) and crane (?). Modern binding of red calf with arms of Pius IX and Cardinal Mai. 2nd f inc: Et ueniant hederae

Contents 1-80r 'Incipit Monobyblos Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Tullum Feliciter Vel Elegiarum Secundum Nonium Marcellum' (14v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Primus Explicit Secundus Incipit Feliciter'; 41v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Explicit Tertius Incipit Feliciter'; 61v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Explicit Quartus et Vltimus Incipit Feliciter'; 80r 'Properti Aureli Nautae Monobyblos Feliciter Explicit Vel Liber Elegiarum Properti Finit'); 80v blank (but has catchword for next gathering); 81-83 'Elegia Antonii Panormitae Ad Lamolam' inc: Desine me placida uerbis abducere terra (Walther 4281); 83v-85v blank

Orsini's identification of the copyist as Panormita was rejected out of hand by Ullman but accepted by Sabbadini; it is supported by comparison with the generally accepted volume of autograph correspondence Vat lat 3371 (cf Resta *L'epistolario del Panormita* tav VII-IX) and his annotations in Vat lat 3276 (Lucretius), and is accepted by Dr de la Mare. She is also willing to accept Sabbadini's date (1427) on the basis of the initials; those for Books 2, 3, and 4 are of a type common in Florence at the time, while the type for Book 1

(perhaps depicting a pygmy battling a crane) first appears about this time and is characteristic of this illuminator. Panormita's exemplar was most certainly the manuscript sent by Poggio to Niccoli in summer of 1427; its influence is strong in the humanistic tradition.

Swoboda 29 (113 Hanslik); Simar 80-2; O. Neumann *De Propertii codicibus Urbinate 641, Lusatico, Vaticano 3273* (Diss Greifswald 1914); Sabbadini *SIFC* 7 (1899) 109; Ullman 297-8

126 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 3274

Italy (Rome), s xv (1472 or after): copied apparently by two humanistic cursive hands, one more formal, one more cursive and attributable to Parthenius Minutius Paulinus (m1 ff 2-37, 45 [1ines 1-13], 45v [1ine 14]-108v; m2 ff 37v-44v, 45 [1.14]-45v[1.13], 109). Parchment: 162x111 (110x69) mm: i+ 111+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled in crayon, both sides: 20 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}10^{10}$, 11^{10} (-9): vertical catchwords. The text is written in a variety of inks, orange, brown, red, and violet, with additions in blue: no titles executed except f 2 (blue), simple blue initials everywhere except f 2, which has an illuminated initial with modest vine-stem ornament forming a frieze on three sides of the page: just above the centre of the page two husky *putti* support a wreath with coat of arms (Pallini, according to Marucchi below). Modern binding of red calf, with arms of Pius IX and Cardinal Mai. 2nd f (= f 3) inc: Fortiter et ferrum

Contents 1v Anonymous Latin distich (by Parthenius?), 'Hic liber ingenuos docet et decantat Amores: / Disce puer, iuuenis, Nupta, puella faces.'; Anonymous Latin prose passage, 'Tela Cupidinis' (printed by Simar below); 2-108v 'Propertii Vmbri Meuanii Poetae Elegiographi Incipit Liber Primus Ad Tullum' (21v Book 2 begins; 57 Book 3 begins; 84 Book 4 begins; 108v Propertius ends); 109r Anonymous Latin poem inc: Vincere Romanum est bello: succumbere Fatis; 109v-111 blank; 111v Mock inscription recording the erection of a colossus, etc, to the scribe (cf 151 above), followed by a second: 'Ad Furem / Aurelii Propertii Nautae Amores: / Fur Abesto: / Sumus Parthenio Minutio Paulino / Ascripti'

The text derives in part from de Spira 1472. Parthenius is known as a follower of Pomponio Leto and his companion in exploring the catacombs. Ruysschaert has wrongly attributed the titles and inscriptions to Sanvito. The name of an early owner, Vincentius Amerinus, appears on f 1.

Swoboda 30 (81 Hanslik); Simar 86-7; G. Lumbroso 'Gli accademici nelle catacombe' *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 13 (1889) 232; A. Marucchi 'Stemmi di possessori di manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana' *Mélanges Tisserant* VII (1964) 88; P. de Nolhac 'Recherches

sur un compagnon de Pomponius Laetus' *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 6 (1886) 141; J. Ruysschaert *Survie des classiques latins* (Vatican City 1973) 73

127 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 5174

Yugoslavia (Trogir), s xv (1464): copied by two humanistic hands, of which the first, more cursive, wrote ff 1, 4, 7, 10, 30-97, the second, more formal, the remainder. Paper: single watermark of a tower crowned, close to numbers 238 and 239 (Ravenna 1463) in G. Piccard *Die Turm-Wasserzeichen* (Stuttgart 1970): 212x136 (156x94) mm: i+98+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on verso with a dry point: 24-25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}4^{10}$, 5^{10} (-1), $6\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{10} (-10) (the folio lost from gathering 5 contained Propertius 2.32.35-2.33.20; the catchword at the end of 4 has been erased): horizontal catchwords. Rubricated titles: simple blue or red initials. Modern binding of red calf with arms of Pius IX and Cardinal Lambruschini (1846-53). 2nd f inc: Aspice quos sumittit

Contents 1-83v 'Sexti propertii naute elegiarum liber incipit ad Tullum qualiter amore cynthiae laboret' (15v 'Sexti propertii aurelii nautae elegiarum liber primus finit incipit secundus' 43 'Sexti aurelii propertii naute elegiarum ad cynthiam amicam suam liber secundus finit incipit tertius'; 64 'Sexti propertii aurelii nautae elegiarum Liber tertius finit Incipit quartus et ultimus eiusdem foeliciter ad hospites'; 83v 'Sexti aurelii propertii nautae elegiarum liber quartus et ultimus finis m^{o}cccclxiiii Idibus februariis in tragurio. Amen deo gratias. / Epitaphium propertii. / Musa suauiloqui cubat hic Lasciua properti: / Preco fuit formae, Cynthia pulchra, tuae.'); 84-88 ps-Ovid *Her* 15;

88-97v Collected medieval and humanistic poetry: 88 untitled inc: Grata domus genitor fratres carique sodales (Walther 7313); 88v untitled inc: Parcite mortales ulli seruire tyranno; untitled inc: Accipite haec cuncti memoresque infigite uestris; 'Carmina lactantii firmiani' inc: Cum quod turpe paras si quo spectante ruberes; untitled inc: Tu qui secura procedis mente parumper (*CIL* VI 12652; Walther 19512); 89 untitled inc: Mercurii eloquio patriam qui expleuit et urbes; 89v 'Laus gloriose magdalene ad do / Latet .n. miVcilium eius. De auctoritate subdubito' (*sic*: ie, L. gl. mag. ad domicilium eius. De auc. sub. Latet enim) inc: Dulcis amica dei lacrimis inflectere nostris (Walther 4790); 90 'Versus lactantii firmiani in laudem resurectionis' inc: Salue feste dies toto uenerabilis aeuo (Walther 17100a); 92v 'Hymnus eiusdem Martino quinto papae beatissimo dicolos tetristrophos proseutice ad pueros et uirgines feliciter' inc: Gentis humane pater et redemptor (*Analecta Bollandiana* Repertorium Hymnologicum [Suppl] III 27334); 94v 'Versus quidam lyrici in laudes bene hyeronimi'

inc: Ecce qui christi decorauit aulam (Walther 5135); 95 'Epitaphium domini Iohannis mediolani simul et archiepiscopi' inc: Quam fastus quam pompa leuis quam gloria mundi (Walther 15138); 96v 'Ioannes lipauich post pestem tragurium rediens composuit' inc: Salue terra tuo populo priuata diu quae (mentions in lines 57-62 one Vincilaus de Rippa, the new Venetian 'praetor' of Trogir)

Simar's assertion that the copyist is Johannes Lipavich himself is no more than a possibility. The text of Propertius derives from the family of Vicenza G.2.8.12 with no trace of influence from Paris 7989, which was rediscovered in Trogir in the seventeenth century. This and Vat lat 5177 are probably the two Propertius manuscripts acquired by Clement VIII from the library of Paolo Manuzio *giovane* in 1600.

Swoboda 30 (β Hanslik); Simar 85

128 Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Vat lat 5177

Italy (northeast?), s xv (second half): single humanistic bookhand, written rather large, with additions on f 87 by a contemporary or slightly later italic hand. Paper: two watermarks of three hills, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 210x149 (160x115) mm: ii+87+iii leaves (the first and last flyleaves are modern; the modern foliation numbers to the last early flyleaf): ruled with a dry point: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}8^{10}$, 9^{10} (-8, 9, 10): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles and initials. Modern binding of red calf with arms of Piux IX and Cardinal Pitra. 2nd f inc: Nudus amor formae

Contents 1-86 'Sexti propertii nautae elegiarum liber incipit' (16 'Sexti propertii aurelii nautae elegiarum liber primus finit incipit secundus foeliciter'; 45 'Sexti aurelii propertii nautae elegiarum ad cynthiam amicam liber secundus finit incipit tercius'; 66 'Aurelii propertii nautae ad tullum liber tercius explicit incipit quartus'; 86 'Sexti aurelii propertii nautae elegiarum liber quartus et ultimus finit'); 86v 'Versus augusti ut aiunt' inc: Thrax puer astricto glatiae dum ludit in hebro (*PLM* III 103); 'M. ualerii marcialis Epigrama ad puerum' inc: Quanta tua est probitas quanta est prestantia formae (Mart 8.46); 'De ortu et obitu hermafroditi pulex poeta' inc: Dum mea me genetrix grauida gestaret in aluo (*PLM* III 114); 87 'Epitaphium in cerberum ludi magistrum claudum. Titus' inc: Iam male seruabat stygius tot millia custos (cf Brit Lib Harley 2574 ff 200-1; by Tito Vespasiano Strozzi); untitled inc: Musa mihi uocem dederat cylenius artem (Walther 11506); 87-88r additions by the italic hand: untitled inc: Tu qui secura procedis mente parumper (*CIL* VI 12652; Walther 19512); untitled inc: Rusticus erarii quondam nunc uillicus agri (= *Priapea* 82); 88v-89v blank

The text of Propertius descends from the family of Vicenza G.2.8.12
Swoboda 30 (69 Hanslik)

129 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana XII 82 (4208)
Italy (northeast?), s xv (third quarter): single humanistic bookhand. Paper: single watermark of a large five-petalled flower, not identifiable with any example in Briquet: 208x150 (137x95) mm: ii+100+ii leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled on verso with a dry point: 22 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}10^{10}$: horizontal catchwords in corner. Rubricated titles (some not executed): simple red initials except f 1, which has a small illuminated *C* with coarse vine-stem ornament on a ground of blue, green, and orange: also on f 1 at bottom centre a wreath with coat of arms (tree trunk with vine around it and clusters of red berries, flames at top). Modern binding of light brown calf. 2nd f inc: Et tenues choa
Contents 1-94r 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Monobyblos Incipit Feliciter Ad Tullum' (17v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Secundus Incipit Feliciter Ad Mecenatem' 49 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tertius Incipit Feliciter' 72 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Quartus Incipit' 94 'τελοσ: Et uigili omnia perlege mente'); 94v-100 blank
The text is closely related to Marc XII 101 (4384), San Daniele 56, and Ottob lat 2003. Earlier shelfmarks on f i^{r} include 'S^{a}. II A/LV.6', 'XCVIII.1' (also found in 4384), and '109,' its number in the collection of Giacomo Nani, who gave it to the Marciana. None of the four Propertius manuscripts in the Marciana (including XII 231 [4515], which is an incomplete copy of Scaliger's edition) can be identified securely with any of the three listed in Tomasino *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae publicae et priuatae* (Udine 1650): these are a Propertius, Catullus, and Tibullus belonging to S Zanipolo (p 28), a parchment Propertius of Fra Angelico Vintimiglia at S Stefano (p 63), and a parchment Propertius 'eleganter scriptus' belonging to Rocco Fedele Corniani (p 102).
Swoboda 34; Fischer 38 (g Hanslik)

130 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana XII 101 (4384)
Italy (Padua), s xv (1466): copied by a single humanistic bookhand, signed by Franciscus Mussatus. Paper and parchment (the outermost bifolium of each gathering is parchment, the others paper): two watermarks of three hills, one within a circle, one surmounted by a vertical line and a figure 8, neither close to any example in Briquet: 211x147 (152x90) mm: i+77+i leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point on verso in first, on recto in second half of gathering: 27 lines: pentameters indented. 1^{10}, $2\text{-}4^{12}$, 5^{32} (-31): vertical

catchwords. Rubricated titles (alternating red and blue or exclusively in blue on f 1), with first two lines of each book also in red (except alternating red and blue on f 1): simple red initials, many not executed: f 1 has a late stippled grey boarder with arms of Visconti family (with cardinal's hat) and various objects (book, candlestick, crozier, etc). Modern binding of red calf, stamped with fleurs-de-lys. 2nd f inc: Littora natiuis

Contents 1-76v 'Ad Tullum Propercii Autelii Naute Foeliciter Liber Primus Incipit' (14v 'Propercii Autelii Liber Primus Explicit Secundus Incipit Ad Mecenatem'; 40 Book 3 begins; 59 Book 4 begins; 76v 'Ego franciscus mussatus filius condam domini Jacopini mussati opusculum hoc consumaui die decimo sesto mensis Augusti 1466 hora 15^{a} Die sabati'); 77 blank (with *probationes*, Mussato's *ex-libris*, and, in another hand, the distich, 'Quis mussate mihi tota te gratior urbe est / Quem non posthabeo fratribus ipse meis.')

The Mussato family was well established in Padua; Franciscus seems otherwise unknown, but an oration by his father appears in Padua BU 541. Dr de la Mare has informed me that the late border on f 1 is probably a work of the eighteenth century and belongs to a series of such false borders with the Visconti or Medici arms (cf Pächt and Alexander *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* II n 761 for references). Formerly in the library of S Michele di Murano in Venice.

Swoboda 34; Fischer 38-9 (ξ Hanslik); Mittarelli *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum monasterii S. Michaelis* (Venice 1779) 968

131 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Fondo antico 443 (1912)

Italy (Padua), s xv (1453): copied and corrected by a single humanistic bookhand, perhaps attributable to Giovanni Marcanova (de la Mare). Paper and parchment (in the first three gatherings both the innermost and outermost bifolia are of parchment and the others of paper, elsewhere only the outermost): watermarks of a sea-serpent in a circle, three mounts in a circle surmounted by a cross, and a human male head in profile, none identifiable with any example in Briquet: 230x135 (160x85) mm: iii+79+iii leaves (only the flyleaves immediately flanking the manuscript are original): ruled on verso with a dry point: 27 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}5^{10}$, 6^{10} (-6), $7\text{-}8^{10}$ (the missing folio contained Propertius 3.20.10-3.21.33; the bottom half of the preceding folio, with 3.19.2-12 and 3.20.1-9, has also been cut out): horizontal catchwords written in capitals. Titles (not all executed) in red, violet, or green: simple blue or red initials for poems, for books painted initials on a gold ground with interlace

work in blue, pink, and green. Modern binding of light brown calf. 2nd f inc: Aspice quos summitat

Contents 1-75v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Poetae Clarissimi Elegiarum Liber Primus Ad Tullum' (14v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Secundus'; 40 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber Tercius Ad Manes Callimachi Et Coi Poetae'; 58 Book 4 begins; 75v 'Propertii Aurelii Poetae Finis'); 75v-79v ps-Ovid *Her* 15 (followed by subscription 'Felix / Vale / MCCCC-LIII,' written entirely in erasure except the *M*; the scribe repeated the date on the facing flyleaf)

The manuscript was given, according to a note of ca 1500 on f iii^{r}, to the convent of St Anastasia in Verona by Luchina, widow of Pellegrino de Cavalcabò (probably the same who in 1471 prepared for the press a text of the *De medicinis uniuersalibus* of Mesue; cf C. Castellani *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore* 28). It was purchased in Verona in 1720 by Giovanni Battista Recanati of Venice, from whom it passed to the Marciana; earlier shelf-marks include XCVIII.2 and Arm. V A LXV (altered to LIX 5). The manuscript is a generally reliable direct descendant of Petrarch's copy from about 2.29 to the end. It is also the source of the delta manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of 1472. The scribe may, in the opinion of Dr de la Mare, be the scholar Giovanni Marcanova of Padua. The same hand certainly copied Bern Burgerbibliothek B42 (dated 1457), containing Valerius Probus, etc, and a sylloge of inscriptions gathered by Marcanova (cf F. Steffens *Lateinische Paläographie* III n 91), and Dr de la Mare feels that the marginalia, titles, and other additions in a series of Holkham manuscripts, which are close to those of this manuscript, may also be in Marcanova's hand (Holkham 364, historical texts copied for Marcanova in 1465; Holkham 366, the same, copied for him in 1467; Holkham 402, a fourteenth-century Boethius donated by Marcanova to S Giovanni in Verdara, Padua, in 1467). It is uncertain whether the present copy is to be identified with the Propertius given by Marcanova to S Giovanni. The inventory in Sighinolfi (below) lists 'liber Propertii in membranis cum armis d. Johannis.' The arms could have been on the original binding, which is no longer extant; the manuscript is written largely on paper, but the first leaf of each gathering is parchment, so that a cataloguer who opened the volume casually for inspection might mistake the material.

Swoboda 35; Fischer 39-40 (ρ Hanslik); L. Sighinolfi 'La biblioteca di Giovanni Marcanova' in *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki oblata* (Munich 1921) 215 n 370

132 Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr 549

Italy, s xv (second half): the manuscript consists of two originally separate parts, ff 1-126 and 127-179, each copied

by a single humanistic cursive hand. Paper: various watermarks: ff 1-126 two flowers, a bird; ff 127-179 crossed arrows, three hills, bull's head with flower, none identifiable with any example in Briquet: 210x140 (140x95) mm: i+179+i leaves (early parchment flyleaves taken from a medical manuscript of s xiii): ruled on verso with a dry point: 25 lines in ff 1-126, 24 lines ff 127-179: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}5^{10}$, $6\text{-}11^{12}$, 12^{4}, 13^{12}, 14^{12} (-11), $15\text{-}17^{10}$: vertical catchwords (horizontal in Catullus). Rubricated titles and initials executed only in Tibullus. Original binding of bare wooden boards. 2nd f inc: Quam iuuat inmittes

Contents 1-41v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 41v-43 Ovid *Am* 3.9; 43-124 Propertius, beginning without title (a contemporary hand has supplied 'P. Vatis Propertii de amoribus lasciuis Incipit Libellus faeliciter') (57v Book 2 begins; 85 Book 3 begins; 105v Book 4 begins; 124 Propertius ends); 125-126 blank; 127-175v Catullus, preceded by verses of de Campesanis; 176r 'Galli poete ad lydiam epigramma' (added by another hand) inc: Lydia bella puella et candida (Walther 10534); 176v-179v blank

The Propertius is related to Pal lat 1652 (copied by Manetti) and is the probable exemplar of Bodl Lat class e 3. Earlier shelfmarks include 'VI.117' and '3153' (its number in the Cicogna donation).

Swoboda 35; Fischer 40 (γ Hanslik); Thomson n 121 (60-1)

133 Vicenza, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana G.2.8.12 (G.19.2.3)

Italy (Padua), s xv (1460): copied by a single humanistic bookhand, perhaps an early work of Bartolomeo Sanvito, with a few annotations by the first owner, Marcantonio Morosini. Parchment: 212x131 (140x80) mm: iii+185+iii leaves (flyleaves are all modern, but an early parchment flyleaf which became detached is now pasted down inside the binding): ruled on verso with a dry point: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$, 10^{6}, $11\text{-}18^{10}$. 19^{10} (-10): vertical catchwords in Propertius, consecutive capital letters elsewhere (a series of letter/number combinations to indicate gathering and folio is also present; the Propertius is numbered independently). Rubricated titles (sometimes with the addition of blue) for poems: title and first line of each author or book is written in alternating lines of gold, blue, green, red, and violet capitals: simple blue initials for poems: those for authors and books are illuminated and have extensive, very fine vine-stem ornament: that on f 1 forms a frieze on three sides of the page, and at the bottom two *putti* support the arms of the Morosini family. Plain parchment binding. 2nd f inc: Non agnamue sinu

Contents 1-43v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph and *Vita*; 44v-94 Catullus; 94v 'De ortu et obitu hermaphroditi. Pulex poeta' inc: Cum mea me genetrix grauida gestaret in aluo (*PLM* III

114); 'Versus Augusti ut aiunt' inc: Thrax puer astricto glacie dum ludit in hebro (*PLM* III 103); 95-96 blank; 97-184v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Primus Incipit Ad Tullum Qualiter Amore Cynthiae Laboret' (112v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Secundus Incipit Ad Mecaenatem'; 142v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Tertius Incipit Ad Callimachum Et Philitam Poetas'; 164 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Quartus Incipit'; 184v 'Sexti Propertii Aurelii Nautae Elegiarum Liber Finit'); 185 blank

The two parts of the manuscript, copied separately, were early joined into a single volume. A note on the flyleaf records that Marcantonio Morosini had them copied in Padua in 1460. Two other books copied for the same patron by the same hand are known, Barb lat 98 (Suetonius 1461) and Vat lat 5208 (Cicero *Ad Atticum* 1463); another manuscript in the same hand is the Juvenal from the Brotherton Library, Leeds, illustrated in figs 1 and 2 in O.A.W. Dilke *Roman Books and their Impact* (Leeds 1977). Ruysschaert attributed the two Vatican manuscripts to Antonio Tophio, but Fairbank below notes their similarity to the work of Sanvito. The text of Propertius is closely related to another copied by Sanvito for himself, Genoa F.VI.15, and to a third rubricated by Sanvito, Bern 517. A modern note on the early flyleaf identifies the artist as Attavante degl' Attavanti, a completely impossible suggestion.

Swoboda 35; Fischer 40-1 (o Hanslik); Mazzatinti *Inventario* II 43; A. Fairbank 'Antonio Tophio' *Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting* 45 (1965) 8-14, pl 1-7; Zicàri 79-99; Thomson n 122 (60-1)

134 Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 224

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460-70 de la Mare): copied by a single humanistic bookhand and annotated by a contemporary hand. Parchment: 237x160 (157x85) mm: ii+171+iv leaves (flyleaves modern): ruled with a dry point on hair side only: 25 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}17^{10}$, 18^{2} (-2): vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles (some omitted in Propertius Book 4 but supplied by the annotator): simple blue or red initials: on ff 48 and 89 initials illuminated with vine-stem ornament, on f 1 illuminated on a pink ground with a frieze of vine-stem work on three sides of the page and two *putti* at bottom supporting the arms of Matthias Corvinus. Red calf binding of s xviii with gold tooling and arms of Eugene of Savoy. 2nd f inc: Opus foret uolare

Contents 1-47v Catullus; 48-88 Tibullus, followed by *Vita* and Epitaph; 88v Ovidian *testimonia* concerning Tibullus (*Am* 3.9.59-60, *Tr* 4.10.51-2, *Am* 1.15.27-8); 89-171 'Propertii

Aurelii Naute monobiblos Elegiarum liber incipit. Ad Tullum' (103v 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Ad Cynthiam et ad alios Monobiblos Liber primus finit Eiusdem Secundus Incipit'; 131v 'Liber secundus Finit. Incipit tertius Ad Callimachum et philitam poetas'; 151v 'Propertii Aurelii Naute liber quartus Incipit'; 171 'Deo Gloria'); 171v blank (with *probationes*)

The Propertius is one of the descendants of Laur Acquisti e doni 124. The library of Corvinus (who ruled 1458-90) was dispersed not long after his death; Prince Eugene of Savoy (shelfmark 'CLIV') acquired the manuscript in 1738 from the collection of Prince Michael Apafi.

Swoboda 39 (99 Hanslik); *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* (Vienna 1864) I 31; *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich* VI 3, 57-8, t IX n 1 (= f 1); A. de Hevesy *La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin* (Paris 1923) 79; C. Csapodi *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest 1973) 176; id *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (Budapest 1967) 63, pl CVI; Thomson n 123 (60-1)

135 Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 3153

Italy (Naples?), s xv (second half): copied with scant understanding in a single notarial hand, with annotations and variants in two contemporary or later hands. Paper: watermarks of a bell, not close to any example in Briquet, and of a horn, similar to Briquet 7686: 287x209 (200x90) mm: i+63+i leaves (flyleaves modern): no apparent signs of ruling: 31-4 lines: pentameters not indented (except briefly on f 5): $1\text{-}6^{10}$, 7^{4} (-1) (the missing leaf contained Propertius 4.8.54-4.9.33): catchwords written obliquely from upper left to lower right in corner. Rubricated titles, many partly illegible because of water damage (none executed in Book 4): no initials executed. Modern binding of parchment (dated 1753) with imperial eagle stamped in gold. 2nd f inc: Non ego nunc

Contents 1-63v 'Aurelii propertii poete Vmbri ..... liber incipit' (11 'Aurelii propertii poete liber primus finit. Aureli propercii liber secundus incipit Ad sodales Vncetenantem [*sc* Maecenatem] quare amores tantum scribit'; 33 'Aurelii naute propertii poete ilari liber secundus finit feliciter incipit tertius'; 50 Book 4 begins without title [an early annotator has supplied 'Aurelii propertii nautae elegiarum liber tertius finit Incipit Quartus']; 63v 'τελοσ'

Earlier shelfmarks include 213 and Philolog.96 (both from the Imperial library) and C.22.

Swoboda 39 (131 Hanslik); *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum* (Vienna 1864) II 216

136 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek 65.2 Aug 8°

Italy (Naples), s xv (1486 or after): copied in a single humanistic bookhand, with additions by two contemporary hands. Parchment: 147x72 (100x52) mm: vii+171+i leaves (ff i-iv are original flyleaves, ff v-vii and the last flyleaf are modern and of paper): ruled on hair side with a dry point: 27 lines: pentameters indented. 1^8 (-1, which was replaced with paper in the seventeenth century), $2\text{-}11^8$, inserted leaf (= f 89), $13\text{-}22^8$, 23^2: no catchwords. Titles of poems in gold: poems begin with illuminated initials on a square ground of blue, pink, or green with penwork: books begin with the same, with the addition of an acanthus frieze with shredded ground in various colours: each author begins with a full-page architectural frame (that for Catullus now lost), attributable to Cristoforo Majorana: the inserted leaf (f 89) has been tinted purple and bears a full-page miniature of a bearded man at a writing desk observing a woman in a rocky landscape. Early binding of red cloth over wooden boards, a single clasp still extant. 2nd f inc: Phasellus ille

Contents 1-48 Catullus; 49-86 Tibullus, followed by *Epitaph*; 86-87v Additional epitaphs and *testimonia* concerning Tibullus; 86 untitled inc: Sub teneris annis tenerorum scriptor amorum; Ovid *Am* 1.15.27-8 inc: Donec erunt ignes arcusque cupidinis arma; Ovid *Am* 3.9 inc: Memnona si mater mater plorauit achillem; 87v Aemilius Buccabella, epitaph of Tibullus (cf Vat lat 3272, f 90v) inc: Iuuenis quam pauper erat tamen ecce Tibullus; 88-89 blank; 90-169 'Propercii Aurelii Nautae Poetae Clarissimi Elegiarum Liber I Ad Tullum' (104 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber Secundus Ad Mecoetem'; 131 'Propertii Aurelii Naute Liber II Explicit Incipit III Feliciter'; 151 'Explicit Liber III Incipit Liber Quartus'; 169r 'Finis'); 169v-170v blank; 170r-170v untitled Latin poem inc: ( )Elia foeminei specimen uenerabile sexus

The Propertius is a direct copy of the 1486 Brescia edition. Scribe and decorator are both the same as those of former Abbey 3183 (Martial); cf Alexander and de la Mare 84-5, pl XXXVII a, b, where several other works of the same scribe (and often the same decorator) are listed, including a Virgil and a Lucretius, all done in the same small format (the scribe there is identified as Clemens Salernitanus, the decorator as Cristoforo Majorana). Probably the format is a speciality of the artisans and not the whim of one particular collector; the known manuscripts of Clemens have various coats of arms, this one perhaps that of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino (ff 49 and 90).

Swoboda 8 (128 Hanslik); *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel V: Die augusteischen Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel 1903) 128-9; Thomson n 126 (60-1)

137 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek Gudianus lat 224

France (north-central or northeast?), s xii/xiii: copied by two late Caroline bookhands (the first wrote ff 1-48, the second 49-71), with corrections by the second scribe and by one or more hands of s xv/xvi. Parchment: 208x141 (160x95) mm: 71 leaves: ruled very faintly in ink, but sometimes with a dry point: 27-32 lines: pentameters not indented. $1\text{-}8^{8}$, 9^{8} (-7) (the missing leaf contained 4.11.17-76): gatherings marked by a series of consecutive Roman numerals bottom centre (only those for gatherings 2, 5, 6, 7 are still visible). No titles executed (except 'Incipit Propertius' added by a contemporary hand on f 1): poems begin with flourished initials of blue, green, or red (the red flourished with green, the green with red, the blue with both red and green): the second line of each poem also begins with a coloured initial (many of these have not been filled in) to contrast with that in the first line. Modern binding of red leather over paperboard. 2nd f inc: Noon (*sic*) sic leucippis

Contents 1-71 Propertius, beginning without title ('Incipit Propertius' added by a contemporary hand) (13v Book 2 begins with no mark of division; 38v Book 3 begins; 56 Book 4 begins; 71 'Explicit' in the hand of the (second) scribe); 71v *probationes* and sketches

A survey of the curiosities of this important manuscript (known to editors as N) may begin with the jottings on the last folio. A longish note on f 71r at the end of the text has been thoroughly erased (it seems to have begun 'An ...' and to have ended '... iuse'); it was perhaps a fifteenth-century note of ownership. There are also some bizarre sketches of incomprehensible significance (ff 2v, 71r). The oldest notes on f 71v are the name 'Goeric' and a sketch of a monkey with the distich 'indole clare cluis presenti deinde futura / actis precipuis indole clare cluis'; these date from the thirteenth or perhaps fourteenth century. Goeric, as M.R. James demonstrated, was a saint of limited renown whose cult centred at Metz and neighbouring cities. The presence of his name here, however, by no means shows that N was copied in the vicinity, only that it was handled at an early date by someone familiar with the local heroes of Metz; either N or the annotator could have travelled. The remaining notes on f 71v all date from the fifteenth century, when N had somehow reached Italy. Two are in the same Gothic-looking hand, the partially illegible 'propertius ad d....' and three scarcely more legible lines (written so as now to appear inverted), 'Urbas (?) horas patris getue si nomina tacent / Irditus ipse miles fuit condam qui te pene(?) cepit / Ipse tuum opidum te queso faue(?) notis(?).' Another note, again barely legible, appears at the top, 'M..... / Qui illas in uale(?) dulc.a

arce d.11...' Near the centre of the page appears a word read by different scholars as a variety of names: it seems in fact to be 'Momettos,' and probably does not conceal, as conjectured by Baehrens, the name of Giannozzo Manetti. The single fully legible note can be read only under ultra-violet light: 'Propertii poetae clarissimi liber aureus explicit' (a title not found in the fifteenth-century tradition). Of the medieval mysteries of N the most discussed is the series of letters inscribed in the margin as far as Book 3 (only the first scribe wrote them); they are very dense through the middle of Book 2, then disappear. Some are editorial in nature (*q* = *quaere*; *co* = *comparatio*; *pro* = *prouerbium*), while others seem to be mistaken *nota* and *uide* signs (as at 2.12.1-8 where there appear in succession the letters *uutauide*, ie *nota* and *uide*). The lack of comprehension shown especially in the case of the latter suggests that the scribe is copying them from his exemplar (where they may already have been corrupt), but Richard Rouse has suggested to me that the scribe made the bizarre variations as a game for his own amusement. Little is known of the history of N before the seventeenth century. The place of copying is unknown, but the medieval tradition of Propertius seems otherwise to have been centred near Paris and Orléans. N was probably brought to Italy at some time in the fifteenth century. Its influence on the fifteenth-century tradition was very slight. It did not, as claimed by Postgate and La Penna, influence the text of L, written in Genoa in 1421; certainly no descendants of it survive. It did, however, influence slightly a group of three manuscripts all copied in or near Milan about 1470-80 (the earliest is Grenoble Bibl mun 549, written in Pavia in 1472). It was collated by Nicolaus Heinsius in Naples (hence its name, Neapolitanus) in the seventeenth century at the library of San Giovanni a Carbonara. The journey that it must have made between Milan and Naples suggests that it might have belonged to Aulo Giano Parrasio (born 1470), whose early life was spent in northern Italy and whose library, after some depredations, passed to San Giovanni a Carbonara. N was purchased, presumably in Naples, by Marquard Gude about 1662; his collection passed after his death to the ducal library of Wolfenbüttel in 1710. Baehrens' controversial claim that N was written in Naples in the first half of the fifteenth century is wholly without foundation. Lucian Müller's observation that the parchment seemed to be of the fifteenth century was seized upon by Baehrens and Housman as proof of N's late date; in fact the parchment is thick and coarse, poorly prepared and not without holes, far inferior to the average Italian production of the period.

Swoboda 4-8; *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel: Die gudischen Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel 1913) 205; T. Birt *Propertius: Codex Guelferbytanus Gudianus 224 olim Neapolitanus phototypice editus* (Leiden 1911) [complete facsimile, with comprehensive introduction]; id 'Zur Monobiblos und zum Codex N des Properz' *RM* 64 (1909) 393-411; K. Dziatzko 'Die Beischriften des wolfenbütteler Propertius-codex Gudianus 224' *Njb für class Phil* 153 (1896) 63-70; R. Ellis 'The Naples Ms. of Propertius' *Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society* (1880-1) 1-3; id 'The Neapolitanus of Propertius' *AJP* 1 (1880) 389-401; M.R. James 'The Codex Neapolitanus of Propertius' *CR* 17 (1903) 462-3; L. Müller 'Der Neapolitanus des Propertius' *RM* 27 (1872) 162-3; A. Palmer 'Propertiana: Baehrens and the codex Napolitanus' *Hermathena* 7 (1881) 40-72

138 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek Helmstadt 338

Italy (Ferrara), s xv (1460 and 1461): copied in a single nearly italic humanistic bookhand, signed by Joannes Carpensis. Paper: watermarks in Propertius of forequarters of a stag (not sufficiently visible to allow identification) and of a basilisk, similar to Briquet 2646 (Reggio 1464): 281x197 (189x90) mm: iv+130+iii (the modern foliation, followed below, begins from the first flyleaf): ruled both sides of page with crayon: 31 lines: pentameters indented. 1^4, $2\text{-}8^{10}$, $9\text{-}12^{12}$, 13^{10}: vertical catchwords. Rubricated titles: no initials executed. Elaborate white calf binding (s xvii-xviii) stamped with arms, allegorical figures, and abstract patterns. 2nd f (= f 10) inc: Sed facies aderat

Contents 5-6 untitled poems: 5 inc: ( )Vo miser usque tuos celabis Tite dolores; 5v inc: Ecce sumus puluis sumus ecce miserrima tellus; 6 inc: ( )Risca suum cantent augustum secula priscis; 6v-8v blank; 9-75 'Propertii Aurelii Nautae Liber monobyblos ad Tullum feliciter Incipit. Lege foeliciter' (20v 'Propertii aurelii nautae poetae elegantis Liber primus finit Eiusdem secundus Incipit foeliciter Ad Mecenatem'; 43 'Propertii aurelii Nautae Liber secundus finit Eiusdem tertius incipit foeliciter'; 59v 'Propertii aurelii Nautae liber tercius finit. Eiusdem Quartus feliciter incipit. Ad hospitem'; 75 'Finis. Laus deo Iesu et beatissime Virgini Mariae hieronymoque et omnibus sanctis. Propertii Aurelii nautae ad Cynthiam monobyblos explicit Sexto Idus Iulii anno 1461 per me Ioannem carpensem ferrariae. Bene Vale qui Legeris'); 75-78v Collection of verse and prose passages: 75 'Diui Caesaris carmen ut quidam uolunt' inc: Quanta tua est probitas quanta est praestantia formae (Mart 8.46); 'Marcialis coquus de silo Italico' inc: Perpetui nunquam moritura uolumina Sili (Mart

7.63); 75v 'Ouidius Naso de Thalamo somni' (*Met* 11.592-615); 76 Prose passage on the names of Apollo inc: Nonnulla traduntur apollinis uocabula; Prose passage on the superior part of the mind inc: Stoici quondam animi partem praestantissimam esse aiunt; Notes on the four military crowns inc: Corona laurea dabatur triumphantibus deuictis imperatoribus (cf Val Max 3.24 for the reference to Sicinius Dentatus); 76-76v Ovidian *testimonia* concerning Propertius and derivation of *Monobyblos* (cf Appendix 1); 76v-78v 'Tribrachus mutinensis poeta Insignis domino Thome cambiatori Bononiensi musarum alumno salutem plurimam dicit' inc: Forsitan expectas ut littera nostra salutem; 79-88 *Priapea* (attributed to Virgil) inc: ( )Arminis incompti lusus lecture procaces (followed by a subscription with the date 15 November 1460); 88v untitled inc: Me gelidos Aretusa iubet his fundere rores; untitled inc: Ante pegasei poterunt arere liquores; untitled inc: Nayades undarum dominae de fontibus imis; 88v-96 'Virgilii Maronis Ciuis mantuani Incipit Vita' inc: Virgilius maro parentibus modicis fuit et precipue patre marone ... (cf Donatus *Vita Verg*); 96v 'Martialis' inc: Que tam seposita est que gens tam barbara Cesar (*Spect* 3); untitled inc: Iunctam Pasiphen dicteo credite tauro (*Spect* 5); untitled inc: Belliger inuictisque mars tibi scaeuiat armis (*Spect* 6); 97 'Gregorii Tipherni in statuam Virgilii Carmen' inc: Smyrna suo tantum si sese iactat homero; 'Eiusdem Epitaphium in Morem' inc: Hic situs est Thomas moronum sanguinus (*sic*) unus; 'Eiusdem Epitaphium in Sabellum' inc: Optime mutasti uitam cum morte Sabelli; 97v 'Tribrachus mutinensis Improperationis causa in librarium nimium precium de scriptura exigentem' inc: En quonam miseri quonam uenere poetae; 'Tribrachi excusatio ad Diuum Borsium ducem quod carmina sua non sit (*sic*) scripta in bona charta neque miniata' inc: Qui neque membranam studioso pumice leuem; 98 'Tribrachus mutinensis in Guilielmum macrum pictorem optimum ciuem ferrarie' inc: Vt Macer es macra sic dignus Imagine uiues; 'Tribrachus ad boniiacobum patauinum poetam clarum' inc: Nescio quis rumor de te mihi perculit aures; 98v 'Clari Poetae Baptiste Guarini carmen de natura et proprietate Cupidinis' inc: Perdiderat natum genitrix Cytherea uagantem; 99 'Ouidii Nasonis Epitaphium' inc: Cum foderet gladio castum Lucretia pectus (*PLM* IV 443); 99v 'Illustrissime ac Pudicissime Virginis Domine Blance Maria estensi Titus Vespasianus Strozza salutem plurimam dicit' inc: Emula pieridum et magne certissima cura; 101v untitled inc: ( )I uigiles cure subitus si Karole pallor; 102 untitled inc: Si fuit Imperio Priami dignissima forma; untitled inc: Fortem forte tenent uigilantem heroa sub armis; untitled inc: ( )Elices nostro felices tempore quorum; 103-107v 'Ludouici Carbonis oratoris clari oratio in funere clarissimi philosophi et singularis medici Magistri Iohannis herculis habita' 107v-108 Three epitaphs

of the same Iohannes Hercules (inc: Omnes herculei fleuerunt fata Ioannis; inc: Si pietas ulla herculeum deflete Ioannem; inc: Propter eos feci qui stercora foeda cacantes); 108-109 'Epistola Karoli regis Siciliae petro Regi Aragonum' inc: Si de sane mentis consideratione librata lance ...; 109-110v 'Hic receptis ab aragonum Rege litteris Regi Karolo in hac forma Responsum transmisit' inc: De magna cordis arrogantia superba manauit epistola ...; 110v-111 'Litterae transmisse uiro commendabili et Egregio Bartholameo de Lamella Illustris domini Marchionis estensis Referendario' inc: Pater et domine mi appulimus Lauretum die sabbati ...; (dated at the end Venice 9 February 1422); 111v-112v 'Ludouici Carbonis poete Carmen ad discipulos Incipit' inc: Quaeritis o sotii carique rogatis amici; 112v-113 'Ludouici Carbonis Poetae carmen in Ludouicum casellam Referendarium Illustrissimi domini Borsii ducis et in Caeteros eius Cancellarios et primo ad Ludouicum' inc: Leguleos inter positus Ludouice casella; 113 'Carmen in eundem Ludouicum casellam' inc: Fingere mortalem statuens natura beatum; 'Ad Philippum Bendedeum cancellarium' inc: Quis non bendedeum ueneretur iure philiphum; 'Ad Aristotelem Bruturium Cancellarium' inc: Semper Aristoteles scribit numquamue quiescit; 'Ad Constantinum de Lardis cancellarium' inc: Constantinus amat libros et lectitat illos; 'Ad Franciscum Libanorium cancellarium' inc: Dat responsa ducis Libanorius atque petentes; 'Ad Victorium Pauonem cancellarium' inc: Quocunque incedit sequitur uestigia uictor; 113v 'Ad Ioannem campagnum Cancellarium' inc: Ducitur immenso compagnus Laudis amore; untitled inc: Nunc ego uenalis nunc nostras uendere merces; 'Ad Lelium' inc: Admirare meas nugas et carmina Leli; 'Carmen in festo Sancti Martini' inc: Parcite iam studiis iam bacchanalia suadent; untitled inc: Fac mihi sint numi faciam tibi carmina mille; 114 'Carmen Epitaphion in Iacobum Bonleum 1460 die Nouembris' inc: Aspera Bonleum fleuerunt saxa Iacobum; 'Ad Amicum' inc: Miraris quid solus cam (*sic*) nunquam sum ego solus; 'Ad amicum' inc: Hoc mihi praecipuum et summum decus esse putarem; 'Carmen' inc: Carmina quottidie faciam si carmina prosint; 'Carmen' inc: Frigora coeperunt inuadere corpora uestra; 114v 'Carmen non Laudans paupertatem' inc: Qui Lucrosa mihi mostraret tempora preco; untitled inc: Vt uersu praestes prestes sermone soluto; untitled inc: Non ego nunc possum sine dulci uiuere uersu; untitled inc: Que Dulci uersu faciunt cantare ducati; 'Carmen in Fratrem Iacobum de Lamarchia' inc: Quis non diuini rapiatur amore Iacobi; 115 'Petit Numos' inc: Carmina quisque probat sed non exponere numos; 115v-118 'Scipionis minoris affricani Alexandri magni Macedonis et Hannibalis (a small gap) bellicis in rebus ducum prestantissimorum contentio de presidentia apud minoem apud Inferos iudicem A domino Ioanne Aurispa ex historia dionis ex greco in Latinum

uersa et traducta Incipit' inc: Cum in rebus bellicis semper ceteris uero animi uirtutibus ...; 118-118v 'Vita horatii Flacci' inc: Horatius flaccus uenusinus patre ut ipse tradit libertino ... ([Suetonius] *Vita Horatii*); 118v 'Item uita horatii' inc: Horatius publius dubium est utrum an etiam uenusinus fuerit ...; 118v-119 'Item Vita horatii' inc: Horatius flaccus libertino patre natus in apulia ...; 119r-119v 'Epitaphium Tribraci mutinensis in Bartholameum de Iacobeis pado demersum die maii 1461 Bene Valeat' inc: Quo non liuor abit: quo se non improba transfert; 119v-120 'Ioannis carpensis carmen Epitaphium in Nicolaum albarisanum specimen et decus Iuuentae et qui forma Ganymedem superasset' inc: Non puduit talem crudeles frangere formam (with note at end 'obiit die primo augusti 1460'); 120-121 'Francisci de Rampinis epithalamium' inc: Viri magnifici ac ciues spectabilissimi: Si quid hodierna die acturus sum ...; 121-123 'Ad celeberrimum uirum Franciscum petrarcham Laureatum Lumbardus a Sirico de dispositione uitae suae' inc: Feruet animus te uidendi pater alme sed ciuitas territat ...; 123-124 'Clarissimi uiri Guarini ueronensis epithalamium in Illustrem Tristanum sforciam et Illu. dominam Beatricem estensem' inc: Animaduerto magnanime Princeps et Dux Illustrissime ...; 124-127 'Francisci philelphi poete Laureati pro Illustribus domino Tristano uicecomite et domina Beatrice estensi epitalamium Incipit' inc: Etsi laetandum mihi admodum sentio Illustrissime dux Borsi ...; 127v-132v 'Baptiste guarini prestantissimi ac eloquentissimi Iuuenis oratio cum successit in legendo Clarissimo genitori suo Guarino ueronensi Incipit' inc: Si et mea et publica non modo totius Litterarii ordinis ...; 132-135v 'Clarissimi Viri Guarini Veronensis pro Illustri Marchione Leonello estense funebris oratio Incipit' inc: Si ullo tempore datum est afflicti principes ciuesque moestissimi ...; 135v-136 'Guarini Vero. epithalamium in Nicolaum pirundulum et Luciam mazonam' inc: Apud eximios et excellenti ingenio uiros constare uideo ...; 136-136v 'Baptistae guarini epithalamium in Bartholameum pendaliam et margaritam Constabilem coram serenissimo Imperatore Federico tercio pridie Idus maias 1452' inc: Cum ingentes materias preclara inuicem poscere ingenia ...

Had the scribe not stated it explicitly, one would have guessed from its contents that the manuscript was copied in Ferrara. Iohannes Carpensis, as Dr de la Mare has informed me, copied several other manuscripts, including Brit Libr Harley 4862 (Ferrara 1461) and Laur pl.39,9 (Ferrara 1464). A reader has also contributed Berlin Ham 638 and a possibly lost copy of Ovid's *Fasti* written in 1460, for which cf Zaccaria *Iter litterarium* (Venice 1762) 158. Other specimens of his work as a poet (cf f 119v above) may be found on ff 218-20 of Modena Bibl Est Est lat 1080 (α.J.5.19).

Swoboda 8-9 (t Hanslik); *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* I (Wolfenbüttel 1884) 276-7; T. Struve 'Varianten der Helmstädter Handschrift des Properz' *Phil* 3 (1858) 387-94

139 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka AKC 1948 KN 197

Italy (Padua), s xv (1469 or before): copied in a single humanistic bookhand with Gothic traits, then corrected by another attributable to Johannes Mendel. Paper: watermarks (according to Heukrath below) of three mounts with cross, close to Briquet 11699, and (in flyleaves) of a cardinal's hat, close to Briquet 3387: 220x145 mm: iv+78 leaves (f iv, of parchment, is the only early flyleaf): ruled with a dry point: 28 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}7^{10}$, 8^{8}: horizontal catchwords in corner. Rubricated titles executed by corrector: plain or flourished red or blue initials. Original binding of leather-covered wooden boards; traces of clasps. 2nd f inc: Pollucem cultu

Contents 1-73 'Propercii Aurelii Naute Monobiblos Incipit feliciter' (13v 'Propercii Aurelii Naute liber secundus Ad Mecenatem'; 38v 'Propercii Aurelii Naute liber tertius incipit'; 56v 'Propercii Aurelii Naute liber quartus incipit'; 73 'Finis' [written by the scribe] and 'padue 1469' [written by the corrector])

A fragment of another early flyleaf pasted down inside the front cover gives the name 'Iohannis Mendel.' He is surely the same as that mentioned in the colophon of Brit Lib Arundel 479 (*Colophons* n 9990), worth citing at length: 'Et sic est finis ... ad instanciam egregii uiri Iohannis Mendel scolaris Patauini per me Iohannem Hasselt Leodiensem (ie, from Liège) die 23 m. iulii 1471. Dominus Ioh. Mendel scribi fecit ad instanciam mei Iohanni (*sic*) Pirkheymer utriusque iuris doctoris.' The Pirkheimer that Mendel knew was the father of the more famous Willibald (on him cf A. Reimann *Die älteren Pirckheimer* [Leipzig 1944] 127); probably Mendel too was German and carried the manuscript home with him. Nothing more is known of the history of the book until it was noticed by scholars near the turn of the century in the library of the Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Goerlitz, whose collection became part of the University Library of Wrocław in 1954. As the *codex Lusaticus* it enjoyed great esteem with some scholars; it was often argued to be older than 1469 or at least to have been copied from a very old exemplar. In fact it belongs to a small group of manuscripts including Parma 140 that derives from some copy of Poggio's medieval manuscript with the addition of slight influence from the Petrarchan family. It does not read *meropem* at 2.34.31 as stated in the OCT apparatus.

Swoboda 40 (67 Hanslik); T. Heukrath *De Properti codice Lusatico L* (Diss Marburg 1910); P. Koehler *De Properti codice Lusatico* (Diss Marburg 1899); id 'Eine neue Properzhandschrift' *Phil* 64 (1905) 414-37; O. Neumann *De Propertii codicibus Urbinate 641, Lusatico, Vaticano 3273* (Diss Greifswald 1914); U. Peper 'Eine neue Properzhandschrift' *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 96 (1893) 86-132; J.P. Postgate 'The Codex Lusaticus of Propertius' *CR* 20 (1906) 349-52

140 Zaragoza, Biblioteca del Seminario de San Carlos A 5 9 (9377)

(The manuscript consists of three independent parts; descriptive details, unless otherwise specified, apply only to that containing Propertius and Maximianus.) Italy (Naples or Rome?), s xv (second half): copied by a single humanistic cursive hand (the part containing Tibullus is dated 1469 and signed by one Iacobutius). Paper: watermarks of 1) a capital *R*, not like any example in Briquet; 2) a crescent moon; 3) scales, similar to Briquet 2473 (Ferrara 1472): 202x140 (160x 85) mm: i+205+i leaves (flyleaves modern; no foliation): ruled on verso with a dry point: 30 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}6^{10}$, 7^{12}, $8\text{-}11^{10}$, 12^{10} (-10), 13^{8}, 14^{16}, $15\text{-}20^{10}$: vertical catchwords. No titles or initials executed. Modern binding of plain parchment.

Contents Part 1) 1-59 Propertius, beginning *mutilus* at 1.18.11 (3 Book 2 begins; 26 Book 3 begins; 43 Book 4 begins; 59 'finis. Deo Gratias'); 59v-70 Maximianus *Elegies*; 71-72 blank; Part 2) 73 blank (with *probationes*); 74-119v Tibullus, followed by Epitaph (attributed to Ovid) and *Vita* (The scribe identifies himself thus, 'Ia ponatur, co consociatur, buti coniungatur, us / Qui scripsit sic nominatur'); 120-121 blank; Part 3) 122-193v Juvenal; 194-204v Persius; 204v untitled poem in Latin and Italian inc: Amico mira ben questa figura; 205 Fabulistic exchange of letters: 'Rex leo fortissimus asino et lepori Suam gratiam et bonam uoluntatem' inc: Cum omne genus ferarum et omnium bestiarum ...; 'Fortissimo Regi regum dominanti ...' inc: Regalis Magnificentie summos apices reuertentes ...

The initials 'M.I.' at the bottom of f 1 offer the only clue to the history of the manuscript. The text of Maximianus is followed by the Lupus subscription found in many copies of that author (cf W. Schetter *Studien zur Ueberlieferung und Kritik des Elegikers Maximian* [Wiesbaden 1970; *Klassisch-philologische Studien* 36] 181-3); it appears here with the corruption *eximaco*, to which the closest among the manuscripts known to Schetter is Paris BN lat 7659, dated 1468, with *eximacho*. The catalogue of the Seminary Library fails to mention the presence of Maximianus, Juvenal, and Persius.

Manuscritos e incunables de la Biblioteca del Real Seminario Sacerdotal de San Carlos (Zaragoza 1943) 28

141 A private collection (former Abbey 3242)

Italy (Ferrara?), s xv (ca 1475-85): single humanistic cursive hand. Parchment: 235x150 (149x91) mm: i+90+i leaves: ruled in pencil: 23 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}9^{10}$: vertical catchwords. No titles executed: illuminated initials on ff 17, 47, 69v with white vine-stem ornament: f 1 has an initial of blue interlace work on a gold ground, as well as a full-page border of fine white vine-stem decoration with several miniatures inserted (top centre, Amor blindfolded and armed; bottom centre, woman in a landscape, playing a viola da braccio; right centre, coat of arms of Agostini of Pisa). Original binding of stamped brown leather. 2nd f inc: Teque peregrinis

Contents 1-90 Propertius, beginning without title (17 Book 2 begins; 47 Book 3 begins; 69v Book 4 begins; 90 'Finis')

Written by the same scribe as n 67; both copied from the same exemplar. The present manuscript was sold at Sotheby's 25 March 1975 (lot 2964) to a private collector.

Alexander and de la Mare 135-6, pl LX, LXIa

142 A private collection (formerly in the possession of the duke of Wellington)

Italy (Florence), s xv (ca 1460-70): single slanting humanistic hand. Parchment: 193x115 mm: i+145 leaves: ruled on hair side with a dry point: 24 lines: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}5^{10}$, 6^{8}, $7\text{-}14^{10}$, 15^{6}: vertical catchwords, as well as a series of letter/number combinations in the first half of each gathering to indicate gathering and folio. Rubricated titles executed ff 2-59 only: poems begin with simple blue initials: ff 2, 45, 60 have illuminated initials with modest white vine-stem decoration forming a small frieze. Binding of the Spanish Royal Library, ca 1800. 2nd f inc: Hoc mihi contingat

Contents 2-43 Tibullus, followed by Epitaph (attributed to Ovid) and *Vita* (attributed to Ovid before correction); 44 blank; 45-59 Maximianus *Elegies* (attributed to Gallus); 59v untitled Latin poem inc: Qui cunctos dulci superabas carmine uates; Prose life of C. Gallus (added by a hand of s xvii: abridged from Petrus Crinitus?) inc: Gn. Cornelius Gallus Poeta celeberrimus in elegia; 60-145v Propertius, beginning without title ('Propertii Poetae clarissimi opera' added s xvii) (74 Book 2 begins; 104 Book 3 begins; 125v Book 4 begins; 145v Propertius ends); 145v prose life of Propertius, abridged from Petrus Crinitus *De poetis latinis* III (added by the same seventeenth-century corrector) inc: Sextus Aurelius Propertius ex Meuania oppido oriundus

The manuscript is affiliated with several other contemporary Florentine copies (Vienna 224, owned by Matthias Corvinus, and Bibl Laur Acq e doni 124 and pl.91 sup 24). It belonged to the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca (shelfmark n 217), whose collection was confiscated by Carlos IV for his own library in the Palacio de Oriente. Joseph Bonaparte had taken it from the royal collection with other manuscripts when he was defeated and then captured by the first duke of Wellington at Vitoria in 1813. It remained in his family until sold at Sotheby's 19 June 1979 (lot 44) and is now in a continental private collection.

A. Hobson 'Manuscripts Captured at Vitoria' in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of P.O. Kristeller* ed C.H. Clough (New York 1976) 485-96

143 A private collection

Italy (Naples), s xv (ca 1440-50): two originally separate volumes now bound together, the first (ff 1-136) copied by Leo Tomacellus, the second (ff 137-176) signed by 'Lutius' and corrected by another hand of about 1500. Parchment: 202x 125 mm: 179 leaves: ruled: 26 lines in first part, 24 in second: pentameters indented. $1\text{-}6^{10}$, 7^{12}, 8^{14}, $9\text{-}13^{10}$, $14\text{-}16^{8}$, 17^{10}, 18^{10} (-10): consecutive capital letters at beginning of gatherings. F 1 at bottom has the Tomacelli arms supported by two *putti* and surrounded by a spray of leaves. Vine-stem initials for each book of Propertius and beginning of Catullus (on f 1 extended into left margin, with butterfly at top); simple blue initials elsewhere. Tibullus also begins with coat of arms and spray; all poems begin with larger or smaller vine-stem initials. Early (perhaps original) binding of tooled goatskin. 2nd f inc: Naturaeque decus

Contents 1-80v Propertius, beginning without title (16 Book 2 begins; 45v Book 3 begins; 60v Book 4 begins; 80v Propertius ends); 81-134 Catullus; 135 in a different hand, 'Leo Tomacellus scripsit et moriens dono dedit infelicissimo fratri Marino Tomacello monumentum perpetui meroris et luctus'); 137-178 Tibullus, preceded by Epitaph, followed by the subscription 'Scripsit Lutius et dono dedit Adulescenti Illustri Marino Tomacello In monumentum et pignus fidei atque amoris in eum sui'

Marino Tomacelli (1419-1515) was a well-known Neapolitan political and literary figure and friend of Pontano; the death of his brother Leo is commemorated in Pontano's *Tumuli*. A note of about 1500 on a flyleaf (or pastedown inside the front cover) records that the manuscript belonged to the church of San Severino in Naples.

144 Location unknown

Among the papers of Karl Ludwig von Knebel (1744-1834) were found two leaves of a parchment manuscript once used as paste-downs in a binding. Written with 28 lines to the page, and of uncertain dimensions because of mutilation, they contained 1.5.16-1.6.36 and 1.10.4-1.11.27. The script was apparently a regular humanistic bookhand, and there was a blue initial at 1.6.1. The text, to judge by readings reported, was a very close, but slightly more corrupt, relative of Wolfenbüttel Helm 338; they share, for instance, the rare errors 'miranti' (1.11.3) and 'magne' (1.11.9) and the relatively common ones 'metantis' (1.11.11) and 'haurire' (1.11.13). The fragments are not among the von Knebel papers at the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt or at the Staatsarchiv, Weimar.

R. Schöll 'De Propertiani cuiusdam codicis deperditi fragmento' *Phil* 23 (1866) 346-7

145 Location unknown

The library of the convent of Monteripido at Perugia formerly possessed a Propertius described thus in a nineteenth-century inventory: 'scritto con eleganza, ha nel margine qualche varia lezione ... Codice membranaceo in 8° del sec. XV' (Perugia, Bibl Com ms 221 [D 39] cc 250-1). The *incipit* is given as 'Sexti Aurelii Propertii ... monobiblios seu elegiarum liber.' Apart from 'monobiblios' and the use of 'seu' instead of 'uel,' this is much the same as the *incipit* and/or *explicit* of Vat lat 3273 and its descendants Ravenna 277 and Ottob lat 1370 and 1550; since the Ravenna ms was copied by or for a man from Spello in 1459 and served as the exemplar of Brit Libr Egerton 3027, written in Perugia in 1467, the Monteripido codex could well be related to it (perhaps it is another copy).

Maria Grazia Bistoni Grilli Cicilioni 'Catalogo dei codici del convento di Monteripido conservati nella Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia (sec. XII-XVI)' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 68 (1975) 11-196 (140)

146 Location unknown (former Phillipps 6433)

A copy on parchment in 8° of Propertius, Tibullus, and Catullus was acquired by Phillipps from the collection of Frederick North, fifth earl of Guilford, whose books were sold 8-12 December 1830. Hale (below) identified the ms as Brit Libr Egerton 3027, but that contains no indication that it ever belonged to Phillipps and was in any case acquired in London about 1850 by another collector, Henry Ellis Allen; it seems preferable to regard the book as lost or in private hands.

A.N.L. Munby *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840* Phillipps Studies No 3 (Cambridge 1954) 56; W.G. Hale 'The Manuscripts of Catullus' *CP* 3 (1908) 238; Thomson n 192 (60-1)

147 Chartres, Bibliothèque de la Ville 680

A text (presumably from a printed edition) together with French verse translation by L.M.A. Rossard de Mianville dated 1836.

148 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana XII 231 (4515)

A partial copy (ending at 2.25.48), apparently of Scaliger's edition.

APPENDIX 1

A Renaissance Derivation of *Monobyblos*

This piece was published by Hosius (587f) from the versions in Naples BN IV.F.22 and Bibl Vat Barb lat 58 and Vat lat 1612; a different version was mentioned by Ullman in *CP* 4 (1909) 45f. That discovered by Ullman is certainly the earlier; the following is the text of Milan Bibl Ambros H 46 sup (f 70v):

Iste propertius est de quo ouidius in libris de remedii (*sic*) ait:

> Carmina quis tuto possit legisse tibulli
> Vel tua cuius opus cynthia sola fuit. (*Rem* 763f.)

Idem in tristibus:

> Aptior huic gallus blandique propertius oris. (*T.* 5.1.17)

Dicitur autem monobyblos ἀπὸ τοῦ μόνος unus uel solus et βῦβλως iuncus marinus. Sed ponitur pro libro quia in iuncis scribebant antiqui. et inde monobyblos (monoblyblos *ae*), id est liber de una persona compositus, quia de cynthia fere ubique loquitur. Martialis in fine sui operis ait:

> Cynthia facundi carmen iuuenile properti (14.189.1)
> Cynthis te uatem fecit lasciua properti. (8.73.5)

Nonius Marcellus aliter hunc librum nominat: dicit enim Propertius in iii libro elegiarum Iam nitidum nautis aura secundat iter. (P. 3.21.14; Nonius p 249 Lindsay)

Another copy of the same version, in Wolfenbüttel Helmst 338, differs in the following details:

Iste ... remedii ait) Ouidius Naso in Libro de remedio amoris in tristibus) in Libro de tristibus
ἀπὸ ... unus) a monos quod est unus
βῦβλως) byblos

sed ponitur) s. hic p.
sui operis ait) operis sui sic ait
Nonius Marcellus) N. autem M.
nominat) appellat

Of these variants only the use of *appellat* for *nominat* and the insertions of *hic* before *ponitur* and of *autem* before *Marcellus* are likely to reflect the original more faithfully than the Milan version.

The piece probably originated in Ferrara, since Helmst 338 was written there in 1461 by Johannes Carpensis, a minor scholar-poet, and the evidence of decoration places H 46 sup there perhaps as much as a decade earlier. The author was evidently familiar with Greek and with the Latin poets and grammarians (none of the texts cited was rare, but few fifteenth-century copies other than v and some descendants show any awareness of Nonius' citation). In this version the piece is less a derivation of *monobyblos* than an enquiry into the title of Propertius' *opus*, which considers in turn *monobyblos* (with an evidently false etymology), *Cynthia* (deduced from P. 2.24.1 and Martial 14.189.1), and *libri elegiarum* (from Nonius).

The opening is especially tantalizing. 'Iste propertius est' suggests a period early in the century when Propertius was still relatively unknown (wide circulation began only in the 1440s). One would like to know whether the author was as unfamiliar with Propertius as the words suggest or whether he simply copied them from elsewhere. The answer is important because that source could have been the exemplar of L and P. L concludes the text with the words 'Iste est propercius de quo ouidius in libro tristium ait,' followed by *Rem* 763f and *T* 5.1.17 and the phrase 'Amica namque propertii fuit nomine Cinthia'; in P we find 'Iste est Propertius de quo Ouidius Naso in plerisque operibus suis' without the citations. Thus it seems likely that the exemplar of LP ended the text with something very like what appears at the head of this piece as far as the citation of *T* 5.1.17; this hypothetical connection with the derivation may be confirmed by the title *Monoblyblos* (*sic*), which appears in H 46 sup before correction, in P, and in certain descendants of L (but not in F and therefore probably not in Petrarch's copy). How the Ovidian *testimonia* were taken from the exemplar of LP into this piece is far from clear. The two texts of Propertius which it follows are closely related neither to each other nor to L or P; they do, however, derive from the copy of v that produced large numbers of descendants in Ferrara in the 1440s. Perhaps some Ferrarese scholar in the 1440s obtained the exemplar of LP, added the *testimonia* to his own (unrelated) copy, then went on to create

the derivation. Perhaps such a scholar added the *testimonia* not to a copy of Propertius but to a *zibaldone*. Both the Milan and Wolfenbüttel copies contain such collections within which the piece is 'buried'; the only specific similarity in their collections is that the former contains Martial 7.63 and 8.46 immediately after Propertius, while the latter has the same poems in the opposite order (Martial 8.46 had a wide humanistic circulation, and the fact is not necessarily significant). Still another plausible suggestion is that some (Ferrarese?) scholar obtained the exemplar of LP with the Ovidian *testimonia*, then added his own observations to them; the scribes of H 46 sup and Helmst 338 then independently took this material for their own miscellanies. This hypothesis would explain why the Propertius texts in these copies are not related to each other or to LP and why in both copies the piece does not follow the text but is embedded within a *zibaldone*. It may be worth mentioning that Guarino wrote to Florence in 1426 from Val Policella requesting a copy of Propertius and could have received the exemplar of LP (or a copy); the 'evidence,' however, for associating Guarino with the origin of the *Monobyblos* derivation is terribly meagre (cf chapter 5, note 9). At any rate, the derivation may at least permit us to trace the exemplar of LP to Ferrara, perhaps as late as mid-century. It is unfortunate that nothing is known of the provenance of Paris 8236, a late descendant of L or its source.

The version known to Hosius represents an attempt to integrate the *testimonia* more closely with the remainder; the author may consciously have tried to create a parallel to the verses of de Campesanis that accompanied many texts of Catullus or to the *Vita* and epitaph associated with Tibullus, but in doing so he destroyed the original focus of the piece. The following is a 'critical' text (insofar as one can speak of this in such a case) of this second version, based upon the seven manuscript copies:

a = Leningrad Cl.lat.Q.12 (Rome, 1463)
b = Naples BN IV.F.22 (Bologna, 1465)
c = Bibl Vat Barb lat 58
d = Bibl Vat Vat lat 1612 (Rome, 1470)
e = Paris BN lat 8458 (Rome, 1474 or after)
f = London Brit Libr Burney 241 (the Veneto?)
g = Bergamo Bibl civ Σ.2.33

Most present it after a brief colophon that names the work of Propertius as some sort of *liber* and so provides a grammatical link for the first sentence:

Qui quidem dicitur monobyblos a monos, unus uel solus, et byblos, iuncus marinus, sed hic ponitur pro libro, quia in iuncis scribebant prisci: inde autem monobyblos, id est liber de una persona compositus, quia de Cynthia fere ubique loquitur. de quo Ouidius in libro de remediis: carmina quis tuto possit legisse Tibulli uel tua cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit. idem in tristitia: aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris. item Martialis: Cynthia facundi carmen iuuenile Properti. item: Cynthia te uatem fecit lasciua, Properti. Nonius autem Marcellus aliter hunc librum appellat: dicit enim Propertius in quarto libro elegiarum. fuit autem familiaris Ouidio Nasoni nostro, uti patet apud eundem in tristibus in hunc modum: saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes iure sodalicii qui mihi iunctus erat.

1 qui ... dicitur) dicitur iste liber b Monoblybos e μονὸσ e monos unus) m. id est u. a uel solus *om* cdf 2 βυβλόσ e 4 quia) nam e 4-5 ubique fere g 5 quo *om* g^{ac}, hoc *suppl* g^{pc} libro) l. secundo b remedio e: remedio amoris b 6 carmina quis tuto possit (posset a) $ac^{vl}deg$: c. q. t. potuit f: c. q. potuit tuto b: quis potuit tuto c^{t} uel) et f 7 sola) prima a tristitia) tristitiae libro f 7-10 idem ... lasciua Properti *om* b 9 item *om* f 10 fecit lasciua Properti c^{t}: f. l. puella f: fertur l. puella $ac^{vl}deg$ (*om* b) macelus g 11 appellat librum cdeg 12 autem) hic b Ouidio) Publio O. b 13 nostro *om* bf ut b eundem) ouidium b tristibus) libro tristium b in hunc modum *om* be

This version probably derives from neither copy of the earlier, since its source correctly preserved certain words corrupted in them (eg *sed hic ponitur* with Helmst 338 against *sed ponitur* in H 46 sup; *unus uel solus* with H 46 sup against *quod est unus uel solus* in Helmst 338). One presumes then, for the sake of economy, that the second version derives from the lost original of the first rather than from a lost third copy. The new version eliminated the Greek (which Paris 8458 tried to restore), rearranged the order of passages, and added a new citation of Ovid (*T* 4.10.45f) at the end. It begins now with the derivation of *monobyblos*. There follow, in modified form, the Ovidian *testimonia* that formerly stood at the head (*Rem* 763f, *T* 5.1.17); the redactor seems not to have noticed that the *de quo* with which he introduces them is awkward now that the new arrangement makes *monobyblos*, not Propertius, the antecedent of *quo*. The citations of Martial that follow were originally adduced as evidence for the title

Cynthia; in their new position they are only further *testimonia* to the existence of Propertius, a role to which their emphasis on Cynthia ill suits them. The citation of Nonius abruptly returns to the problem of the work's title, as the final citation of Ovid does just as abruptly to *testimonia*.

Little of consequence can be said about the affiliation of these copies except that cdf (particularly cd) are closely related, as they are in their texts of Propertius as well; d is probably a copy of c, but no manuscript can securely be eliminated as *descriptus*. It is worth observing, however, that they make Nonius cite 3.21.14 from Book 4 rather than Book 3, as in the earlier version; since the manuscripts of Nonius generally give 'III' (Lindsay, however, printed 'IIII' without comment because of Lachmann's theory on the division of books), the original must have read *in tertio libro elegiarum*, and this may show that all copies of the second version derive from a single lost original distinct from the lost original of the first version. It may be added that the reading *lasciua* for *lasciue* in Mart 8.73.5 in both versions is characteristic of Lindsay's class B^A of Martial manuscripts, which appears to have been the one current in Italy in the Renaissance.

APPENDIX 2

Manuscripts Used by Scholars of the Nineteenth Century and Earlier

Name	*Editor(s)*	*Shelfmark*
Askewianus	Burman	Berlin Diez B Sant 53
Bononiensis	Vulpius, Hertzberg	Bologna BU 2740
Borrichianus	Broekhuyzen, Burman	lost[1]
(Broekhuyzen)	Broekhuyzen	
noster primus		lost[2]
noster secundus		Leiden BPL 133A
(Burman)	Burman	
meus primus		Brit Libr Burney 241
meus secundus		Deventer I 82
Colotianus	Heinsius ap Burman	Bibl Vat R.I.V. 2238 (ed. Gryphiana 1535)
Colbertinus	Broekhuyzen, Burman	
primus		Paris BN lat 8237
secundus		Paris BN lat 8459
Commelinianus	Gebhard, Burman	Paris BN lat 8458
Cuiacianus	Scaliger, Palmer	Brit Libr Egerton 3027
Dorvillianus	Burman	
primus		Berlin Diez B Sant 52
secundus		Berlin Diez B Sant 41
Dresdensis	Hertzberg	Dresden Dc 133
Farnesianus	Lipsius	Naples BN IV.F.20
Guarnerianus	Vulpius	San Daniele 56
Hamburgensis	Hertzberg	Hamburg 139.4
Harleianus	Burman	Brit Libr Harley 2574
Heinsiani duo	Burman	Leiden BPL 133A, Brit Libr Burney 241
Leidensis primus	Burman	Leiden BPL 133A
secundus		Leiden I Lips F.43
V. Lupacchini codex	Santen ap Burman	Rome Bibl Cors 43.E.8
Memmianus	Passerat	lost?[3]
Mentelianus	Burman	Leiden BPL 133A

Palatinus primus	Gebhard, Burman	Bibl Vat Pal lat 910
secundus		Bibl Vat Pal lat 1652
Posthianus	Broekhuyzen	Groningen 159
Regius primus	Broekhuyzen, Burman	Paris BN lat 8235
secundus		Paris BN lat 8237
Ursini codex	Lipsius	Bibl Vat Vat lat 3272
Vallerianus	Hertzberg	Berlin Diez B Sant 57
Vaticani	Heinsius ap Burman	printed editions[4]
Vossianus primus	Burman	Leiden Voss lat O.81
secundus		Leiden Voss lat O.38
tertius		Leiden Voss lat O.13
quartus		Leiden Voss lat O.82

NOTES

1 Excerpts from a ms belonging to the Danish scholar Borrichius came to Broekhuyzen by way of Graevius. It is said to have read *non ita* at 2.24.38; among surviving mss only Harley 2550 has this, as a correction by a late hand, but other readings show that Harley 2550 cannot have been the Borrichianus.

2 If Broekhuyzen's reports are to be trusted, this cannot be any extant copy but is closely affiliated with Brit Libr Add 17,417.

3 Or perhaps it never existed; see Postgate 75-81 for a discussion of Passerat and his 'manuscripts' of Propertius.

4 The readings reported by Burman show that these were not mss; likely candidates include Bibl Vat Aldine III 19 and Barb CCC.II.7 (both annotated 1502 Aldines) and Barb CCC. II.26 (an annotated 1515 Aldine). Certainty is impossible without a broader selection of readings (the third and fourth Vatican *codices*, for instance, are almost never cited), but it seems possible that Barb CCC.II.7 is the second Vatican *codex*.

APPENDIX 3

Dated and Datable Manuscripts

DATED MANUSCRIPTS

Note: An asterisk indicates that the description should be consulted.

1421 Oxford, Bodleian Library Holkham Misc 36 (L)
1423 Paris, BN lat 7989 (P)
1443 Florence, BN Magl VII 1053
1451 Oxford, Bodleian Library Add B 55
1453 Venice, BN Marciana Fondo antico 443 (Z)
1456 Göttingen philol 111^{b}*
1459 Göttingen philol 111^{b}*; Ravenna, Bibl Classense 277
1460 Berlin lat fol 500; Rome, Bibl Corsiniana 43.E.8; Vicenza, Bibl Com G.2.8.12
1461 Wolfenbüttel Helmst 338
1463 Florence, BN Magl VII 1162; Leningrad Cl.lat.Q.12
1464 Salamanca, BU 245; Bibl Vat Vat lat 5174
1465 Naples, BN IV.F.22; Paris, BN lat 8233 (m)
1466 Bibl Bodmeriana Cod Bod 141 (r); Venice, BN Marciana 4384
1467 Brit Libr Egerton 3027
1468 Florence, BN Bald 213; Brit Libr Add 23766
1470 Bibl Vat Vat lat 1612
1471 Parma, Bibl Palatina 716; Pesaro, Bibl Oliveriana 1167
1472 Grenoble, Bibl mun 549; Poppi, Bibl com 54
1473 Berlin Diez B Sant 52
1474 Brit Libr Add 10,387; Naples, Bibl della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria XXIV.B.6
1475 Besançon, Bibl mun 535
1481 Berlin Diez B Sant 57
1484 Naples, Bibl Oratoriana M.C.F. 3-15

DATABLE MANUSCRIPTS

Note: The full description should be consulted in every case.

ca 1380	Florence, Bibl Laur pl 36,49 (F)
1400-5	Florence, Bibl Laur San Marco 690
1427	Bibl Vat Vat lat 3273 (v)
1459 or before	Bibl Vat Pal lat 1652
1460 or after	Valencia, BU 725
1461 or before	San Daniele 56
1463 or before	Florence, Bibl Laur Acq e doni 124
1463 or after	Laur pl 91 sup 24; Rome, Bibl Corsiniana Rossi 43.D.36; Vienna 224
1467 or after	Bibl Vat Pal lat 910
1469 or before	Wrocław, BU AKC 1948 KN 197
1474 or after	Paris, BN lat 8458
1475 or before	Turin, BN G.VI.41
1475 or after	Leiden I Lips F.43; Paris, BN lat 7990; Siena, Bibl com I.IX.6
1481 or after	Escorial s.iii.22; Paris, BN lat 8459
1486 or after	Wolfenbüttel 65.2 Aug 8°
1487 or after	Paris, BN lat 8235
1493 or after	Brit Libr Burney 242

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
BMC	*Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum* (rpt London 1963)
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CLE	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica* ed F. Buecheler
Colophons	*Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI^e siècle* (Fribourg 1976-9)
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
GLK	*Grammatici Latini*
GW	*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke* (Stuttgart^2 1968)
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IMU	*Italia medioevale e umanistica*
JP	*Journal of Philology*
MD	*Manuscrits datés des bibliothèques de France*
Mnem	*Mnemosyne*
Phil	*Philologus*
PLM	*Poetae Latini Minores* ed E. Baehrens (Leipzig 1881)
RM	*Rheinisches Museum*
SIFC	*Studi italiani di filologia classica*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*

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Note: This is not a list of every work cited but embraces only the more important works pertaining to the tradition and those cited by author's name only.

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2 POST-1500 EDITIONS CONSULTED

Note: For editions before 1500, see chapter 9.

1502 Venice: Aldine press (rpt 1515)
1516 Venice (Paganini)
1520 Venice (de Fontaneto)
1531 Venice (Sessa)
1534 Lyon (Seb. Gryphius; rpt 1537, 1542, 1544, 1546, 1548, 1551)
1543 Paris (S. Colinaeus)
1558 Venice: ed M.A. Muretus (reprinted 1559, 1562)
1560 Antwerp (Plantin press)
1569 Antwerp (Plantin press, with notes of W. Canter; reprinted 1582)
1573 Lyon (Ant. Gryphius, also with notes of Canter)
1577 Paris: ed J.J. Scaliger (frequently reprinted)
1592 Leiden: ed J. Dousa *filius*
1604 Paris (C. Morel)

1608 Paris: ed J. Passerat
1659 Utrecht: ed S.A. Gabbema
1685 Paris: ed P. Sylvius (*in usum Delphinis*)
1702 Amsterdam: ed J. Broekhuyzen (2nd ed 1727)
1715 London: ed M. Mattaire
1766 Pesaro (Amati; in the *Collection Pisauriensis omnium poematum ... Latinorum*)
1772 Birmingham (Baskerville)
1777 Leipzig: ed F.G. Barth
1780 Utrecht: ed P. Burman, L. van Santen
1805 Leipzig: ed C.T. Kuinoel
1816 Lepizig: ed K. Lachmann
1821 Paris: ed Amar
1827 Leipzig: ed F. Jacob
1827 Halle: ed H. Paldam
1829 Berlin: ed K. Lachmann
1832 Paris: ed N. Lemaire
1843 Leipzig: ed K.H. Weise
1843 Halle: ed W.A.B. Hertzberg
1853 Leipzig: ed M. Haupt (consulted in 4th ed, revised by J. Vahlen 1884)
1869 the Hague: ed D. Carutti
1870 Leipzig: ed L. Müller
1872 London: ed F.A. Paley
1880 Leipzig: ed E. Baehrens
1880 Dublin: ed A. Palmer
1894 London: ed J.P. Postgate
1898 Berlin: ed M. Rothstein (2nd ed 1920-4)
1901 Oxford: ed J.S. Phillimore
1905 London: ed H.E. Butler
1911 London: ed J.S. Phillimore (Medici Press)
1912 London: ed H.E. Butler (Loeb Classical Library)
1925 Barcelona: ed J. Balcells
1928 Cambridge: ed O.L. Richmond
1929 Paris: ed D. Paganelli (Collection G. Budé)
1931 London: ed and translated by S.G. Tremenheere
1933 Oxford: ed H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber
1939 Rome: ed G. Bonazzi
1951 Rome: ed G. Bonazzi
1953 Oxford: ed E.A. Barber (2nd ed 1960)
1954 Leipzig: ed M. Schuster, F. Dornseiff
1963 Barcelona: ed A. Tovar
1964 Zürich, Stuttgart: ed G. Luck
1977 Norman: ed L. Richardson, Jr
1979 Leipzig: ed E. Hanslik

3 EDITIONS OF INDIVIDUAL BOOKS

Book 1
1947 Leiden: ed P.J. Enk
1961 Cambridge: ed W.A. Camps
1977 Cambridge: ed R.I.V. Hodge, R.A. Buttimore
1980 Florence: ed P. Fedeli

Book 2
1962 Leiden: ed P.J. Enk
1967 Cambridge: ed W.A. Camps
1977 Turin: ed G.C. Giardina

Book 3
1966 Cambridge: ed W.A. Camps

Book 4
1965 Bari: ed P. Fedeli
1965 Cambridge: ed W.A. Camps

4 EDITIONS OF SELECTED ELEGIES

1869 London: ed A.H. Wratislaw
1881 London: ed J.P. Postgate (often reprinted)
1887 Oxford: ed G.G. Ramsay (3rd ed 1900)
1914 New York: ed K.P. Harrington
1933 Naples: ed E. Cesareo
1933 Naples: ed N. Terzaghi

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INDEXES

1 INDEX OF PROPERTIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Note: Those manuscripts marked with an asterisk have been examined *in situ*.

1 *Bergamo Σ.2.33: 153-5
2 *Berlin 41: 107-10, 158
3 *Berlin 52: 104f, 116, 159f
4 *Berlin 53: 105f, 114
5 *Berlin 57: 155f
6 *Berlin lat fol 500: 107-10, 156f
7 *Bern 517: 135f
8 *Besançon 535: 105, 116
9 *Bologna BU 2740: 98-100
10 *Brescia A.VII.7: 114, 132-5
11 *Brussels 14638: 37-54, 110-14
12 *Cambridge Add 3394: 100-10
13 *Carpentras 361: 98-100
147 Chartres 680: 333
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